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THE ORIGIN  
OF THE  
LEICESTER CODEX  
OF THE  
NEW TESTAMENT.

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THE ORIGIN  
OF THE  
LEICESTER CODEX  
OF THE  
NEW TESTAMENT.

BY

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## INTRODUCTION.

IT is at first sight not a little curious to the person who commences the critical study of the documents of the New Testament to find that he can discover no settled proportion between the age of a manuscript and the weight attached to it. It is true that the best editors seem to have agreed in arriving (often by different roads) at the conclusion that the earliest text is to be found in the main in the earliest codices, but they seldom seem to enunciate this as a fixed principle of criticism, and even when their results are such as would flow with comparative ease from such an assumption, we find that we are not permitted to infer that any such empirical method has been employed by them when their critical apparatus shews that they have given in many cases an almost equal weight to some of the youngest MSS. which exist.

A little study, however, soon convinces the tyro of the impossibility of determining any law by which the value of a codex can be expressed in terms of its age only without reference to its history, and leads him to expect occasional eccentric distributions of authority which may make the first of two codices to be the last, and conversely. Perhaps no more striking instance of this can be found than in the pre-eminence given to the Leicester Codex of the New Testament over the vast number of MSS. written in the cursive hand and the greater part even of those written in the uncial character.

A reference to the critical apparatus of Tregelles' New Testament will shew that along with those uncial MSS. upon which he bases his text he makes use of readings from three MSS. denoted (after the usual custom for cursives) by the numbers 1, 33, 69.

The last of these figures stands for the readings of a copy of the Gospels preserved amongst the muniments of the borough of Leicester which cannot, by any paleographic reasoning, be made out as earlier than the fourteenth century and may conceivably be later than the invention of printing. By what law of probability, we ask ourselves, does this peculiar MS., this 'All-hallown Summer,' derive an importance so out of keeping with its juvenility? I think we must admit that in one direction the Leicester Codex has acquired a factitious importance from the repeated scrutiny to which it has been subjected: critics are well aware that this copy is one of a group of four (the youngest of them), which are now known to be derived from a common lost original, perhaps uncial, though equally likely to be cursive, but in any case of great critical importance. But no one of the group has been the matter of such careful enquiry as the Leicester Codex. The other three are located respectively at Paris (Cod. 13), Milan (Cod. 346) and Vienna (Cod. 124), and the Paris copy in particular is suspected of being the almost immediate ancestor of the Leicester copy, and therefore of sufficient importance to put the latter entirely into the shade; but the Leicester MS. drew attention first, for the simple reason that it was accessible to English scholars who in the earliest days of New Testament study did the greater part of the hard work and have not yet altogether relinquished the position in New Testament criticism which naturally falls to the lot of a religious people.

Scholar after scholar has turned its pages, of whose work notes and memoranda may be found on the fly-leaves and margins. Tregelles, Dobbin, Scrivener and Burgon have attempted to complete the sporadic collations made by Mill, Jackson and others; add to these the names of Richard Smyth, M.A., Professor of Oriental Literature, London, whose name appears at the end of the book as having collated it in September, 1866, Dr. C. R. Gregory and myself, and some idea may be formed of the zealous attention bestowed upon the text.

But if the importance thus given seem a little artificial and

unduly proportional to the number of readers (although those who work on these lines will, I think, incline to the opinion that one good text collated thoroughly is really worth more than many better texts known imperfectly) we must add that there are other reasons why this MS. should be made the material for further study and closer scrutiny.

To begin with, there has lately been issued by M. l'Abbé Martin a remarkable tract in textual criticism<sup>1</sup> dealing precisely with the very group of which the Leicester Codex is so distinguished a member, and shewing with a high degree of probability the direction in which their lost original must have lain and where it may perhaps yet be found.

It is true that M. Martin does not endorse altogether the arguments for the common origin of the four codices, but he does what amounts to much the same thing, by demonstrating that three out of the four have common internal and paleographic peculiarities which locate them all in Calabria or perhaps Sicily, so that they are either MSS. which have absorbed common local oddities of text, or are the common descendants of an eccentric Calabrian ancestor. These points M. Martin essays to establish from actual notes made by him on the copies in Paris, Vienna, and Milan. He does even more, he adds to the group a fifth and perhaps a sixth MS. which has close textual relations with them, and points out directions in which the important genealogical relations that subsist between what I suppose he would call the Calabrian family may be made a matter of more extended study by the search after fresh copies of a similar type.

Now it is not my intention in the following pages to either approve or contradict in detail the Abbé's conclusions; it is quite likely that he is correct in tracing the three copies to a Calabrian origin: I believe Dr Hort has arrived at something of the same conclusion by the direct comparison of the readings of the so-called Ferrar-group with the recently-recovered Codex Rossanensis: and certainly I can have no objection to the

<sup>1</sup> *Quatre manuscrits importants*, &c. Paris. Maisonneuve.

extension of the group which, it is no rash prediction to say, is much wider in numbers and diffusion than Professor Ferrar suspected when he made his comparison of the four members of the group, or the Abbé Martin when he made his recent paleographical studies in the libraries where these books are preserved. In fact, unless I am much mistaken, a MS. upon which I have recently spent a good deal of time in England, and which, I believe, demonstrably came in the first instance from Constantinople, is nothing else than a member of the same group in which the peculiarities have been worn down by the insertion of readings from the commonly-received texts. I refer to Cod. 561 of the Gospels. But of this more in another place. Nor is there much fear that the conclusions arrived at by Professor Ferrar will be seriously invalidated by the theory of local peculiarities; no eccentricities belonging to scribes of a given region would suffice to explain the fact that four MSS. agree to spell the word  $\text{Μωυσῆς}$  in one way at a given point and three verses after agree to change the spelling to  $\text{Μωσῆς}$  (Luke ix. 30).

What does come to the front in connexion with the Abbé's researches is that the time has arrived when some attempt should be made to extract from the Leicester Codex (which is the one member of the group not studied by him) an account of its history, and to determine whether any light can be thrown upon its genealogical relations to the other MSS. of the New Testament which are known to us. Something of this kind is attempted in the following pages; and I think it will be found that not only the Leicester Codex will be better understood through these investigations, but a good deal of fresh information is accumulated of importance to the paleographer, especially in reference to Greek MSS. produced or circulated in England in the period immediately preceding the invention of printing.

Nor should it be forgotten that there is something to be learned from the relations of the Leicester Codex to contemporary or later MSS. where these relationships can in any degree

be traced. If the Leicester Codex is an example of a copy whose readings claim an attention deservedly far above what we should have expected from so late a codex, there is another MS. of even later date which has acquired a historical importance, chiefly by the accidental circumstance that it contained a passage fabricated to order in the first great dispute of the editors of the Greek Testament, the verse known as the 'Three Heavenly Witnesses.'

This MS., the Codex Montfortianus of Mill, the Codex Britannicus of Erasmus, has been the subject of one very important (though hardly complete) work by Dobbin; and we are still far from knowing yet all that we ought to know with regard to its origin and composition. What we do know about it in certain directions, such as the fact that it once belonged to the same owner as the Leicester Codex, by whom readings were transferred from the latter to the margin of the former, and the suspicion almost amounting to certainty that in the Apocalypse the Montfort Codex is an actual copy of the Leicester MS., leads us to the belief that any enquiry which touches on the one MS. will be likely to throw light indirectly upon the circumstances of the production of the other. And such researches, though made upon a manuscript that is textually of little worth, are not to be undervalued, if we remember the way in which we are constantly brought to the conclusion that in studying any of the New Testament documents our results are more likely to be ultimately fruitful beyond their immediate application than the contrary.



## THE ORIGIN OF THE LEICESTER CODEX OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

### I. *The handwriting of the Leicester Codex.*

BEYOND the speculative relation of the Leicester MS. to the important Paris cursive (=Cod. 13 of the Gospels) which was suggested by Professor Ferrar, and the relationship in the matter of a common owner and partial direct pedigree between it and the Montfort Codex (the former of which points will be noticed later on more carefully, while the latter is a statement of Dr Barrett, followed by Dr Dobbin though denied by Dr Scrivener in part), the MS. gives but little clue by which we may prosecute our search after its origin and affinities. Its handwriting is so peculiar that it has hitherto been without a companion in paleographical description; the paper upon which it is written (at least in part) is not easily matched, and the pen seems to have been either so badly made or so strangely held that Dr Scrivener has given it as his opinion that the instrument was in reality a reed. When we turn from the writing to the text itself, we find no subscriptions, prefaces, stichometry, scribe's verses, internal divisions or appendices (beyond one or two pieces to be referred to later on), which can help us to trace or locate the text.

However, we are in the position to make some remarks as to the nature of the handwriting, and to raise suspicions as to the school to which it belongs, as well as to point out another important codex written by the very same hand, and from this point we shall have plain sailing for a good way towards the point that we want to reach.

Now in reference to the handwriting, Scrivener speaks of it in too depreciating language. "It is written," says he, "in the coarse and strange hand which our facsimile exhibits, *epsilon* being recumbent and almost like *alpha*, and the whole style of writing resembling a careless scrawl." Concerning this criticism I find that in my first visit to the MS. in September, 1884, I noted on the margin of the above quotation (*Introd. N. T.* p. 190) that Scrivener's facsimile in this Introduction gives a very inadequate idea of the writing. The same is true of the facsimile in *Cod. Augiensis*. This remark may be verified upon the photographs of the MS. presented in the present book. Strange the writing may be, but coarse it is not; and to call it a careless scrawl is to do the scribe a great injustice: he probably wrote fast and freely, but not without a certain degree of elegance. Professor Ferrar's facsimile in his *Four MSS. Collated* is even less satisfactory than Scrivener's. But these judgments the reader is now able to revise for himself.

The most noticeable peculiarities in the script are the  $\epsilon$  as pointed out by Scrivener, the breathings and the accents. The grave accent is often written vertically or even acute. The breathings are easily confused, as pointed out by Scrivener, especially when written in combination with an accent. Not infrequently the accent is placed over a consonant ahead of its vowel. But of all these peculiarities the most striking is the recumbent  $\epsilon$ , which has given sometimes the impression that the whole of the writing was back-handed.

The only MS. which I have seen (apart from one by the very same hand, to which I shall allude presently) which shews the recumbent  $\epsilon$  in a striking manner is a copy of Homer with Paralipomena of Quintus Calaber in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. The MS. is a paper one, of the end of the fifteenth century, though Matthew Parker who presented it to the College has with his normal incapacity in such matters assigned it to the seventh century. The hand is similar to the Leicester scribe's, not only in the recumbent  $\epsilon$  but in the style of accents and breathings. The outside leaves are water-marked with a pair of crossed arrows, from the junction of which a



six-pointed star is pendent. Now the crossed arrows with or without additions, such as an enclosing circle or the like, are not difficult to identify. I find them in the editio princeps of Rabbi Nachman on the Pentateuch; they are also given by Sotheby (*Principia Typographica*) as found in the following printed books:

Tortellius (Ioannes) Archipresbyter Aretinus; *Commentarii Grammatici de Orthographia*. Romae, per Ulricum Gallum, 1471.

Strabo: *Geographiae libri xvii latine*, Guarino Veronensi et Gregorio Typhernate interpretibus. Venetiis, per Vindelimum de Spira, 1472.

Valerius Maximus. Venetiis, apud Vindelimum de Spira, 1471.

Cicero (M. Tullius). *Epistolae ad Familiares*. (Venetiis) per Nicolaum Jenson, 1475.

Dante Alighieri di Firenze: *la Divina Commedia*. Venetiis, apud Vindelimum de Spira, 1477.

And a similar Watermark is given by Bodemann (*Xylographische und Typographische Incunabeln*) as found in Augustinus: *de Civitate Dei*. Venetiis John et Vindelin de Spira, 1470.

From the above it is not difficult to conclude that the Corpus Homer is an Italian production, probably Venetian and capable of being very closely dated. It is true that these outside leaves which Matthew Parker and his secretary have utilised may conceivably be a little later than the main body of the book, which has a somewhat different water-mark, namely, a circle with one or two interior curves added and surmounted by a cross: but I do not think the conclusion can be very different either in time or place to what is given above, and so far as the analogy is worth anything it would lead us to say that the scribe of the Leicester Codex wrote an Italian hand, probably a fifteenth century hand. The speculation must not however be taken for more than it is worth, especially as the resemblance between the hands in the two codices does not extend much beyond the peculiarities alluded to above. It is however interesting to remark that my friend Mr Lewis, the librarian of Corpus Christi, had already labelled the Homer, on the faith of a foreign paleographer, as being written in an Italian hand; and that Dr Scrivener, on the other hand, had remarked in his description of the Leicester Codex which will be found attached to his *Codex Augiensis*, that a similar suggestion had been made with regard to that manuscript by an

antiquarian of eminence. We pass on to a more important piece of paleographical evidence with regard to the Leicester Codex<sup>1</sup>.

II. *On a Greek Psalter preserved in the Library of Caius College.*

Leaving the somewhat uncertain groping after evidence of the previous chapter we step out into the sunlight of direct knowledge with the statement that in the Library of Caius College, Cambridge, there is an important MS. by the very same hand as the Leicester Codex. It was my good fortune to meet with this book on June 25th, 1886, and at once to realise the importance of its relation to the Cod. 69, my friend Mr Bensly informing me that the identification had already been made by Dr Swete through the similarity of the handwriting to the Scrivener-facsimile. And I might add that a large part of the researches which follow are the result

<sup>1</sup> For those who are interested in these matters I subjoin Matthew Parker's notes in the Corpus Homer, remarking only by way of explanation that the name

ΘΕΟ

ΔΩ

ΡΟΣ

is found on the first leaf in a bay wreath, on a blue ground with gold letters.

"Dominus huius codicis Theodorus natus tharso cilicie ordinatus a vitaliano pp. archiepiscopus dorouernensis ecclesie anno dominice incarnationis sexcentesimo sexagesimo octavo vii kal. Aprilis dominica et sedit annos xxi menses tres dies viginti sex. Egberto rege Cantuariorum et Oswino Northammiorum regibus (sic). annos natus lvi. Romae monachus.

Mattheus Cantuar.

Hic Theodorus vir et seculari et divina literatura grece et latine instructus, Romae monachus, probus moribus et aetatis venerandus, id est, annos habens aetatis 66 missus per Vitalianum papam in Angliam pervenit autem Theodorus ad ecclesiam suam secundo postquam consecratus est anno sub die sexto calendarum Iuniarum dominica,

qui Theodorus secum tulit Adrianum quendam monachum libris grecis et latinis apud prime instructum quem praefert abbatem in monasterio beati Petri apostoli ubi Archiepiscopi Cantua sepeliri solent. Hic Theodorus peragrata mox insula tota quaque versum Anglorum gentis morabantur (nam et libentissime ab omnibus suscipiebatur atque audiebatur) rectum vivendi ordinem ritumque celebrandi paschae canonicum per omnia comitante et cooperante Adriano disseminabat. Isque erat primus Archiepiscopus cui omnes Anglorum ecclesie manus dare consentiebant, qui literis sacris et secularibus abundanter ambo instructi congregata discipulorum cetera scientie salutaris quotidie flumina inrigandis eorum cordibus emanabant. Inditio est (ut Beda scribit li. 4<sup>o</sup>) quod usque hodie supersunt de eorum discipulis qui latinam grecamque aequae ut propriam in qua nati sunt norunt neque unquam prorsus ex quo Britanniam petierunt Angli feliciora fuisse tempora etc."

All this and a great deal more by a learned Archbishop and his secretary over a MS. about a hundred years old!

of the sympathetic co-operation and learning of Mr Bensly who has frequently sacrificed whole days in order to assist me in the elucidation of some obscure point.

First of all I place the materials for the identification of the handwriting before the reader in the shape of photographs from each MS. Of the two, the Caius MS. is better in script, as it is superior in material, and perhaps slightly earlier in date. The same peculiarities appear however in both codices such as the recumbent  $\epsilon$ , and in many parts of the Psalter the reedy appearance of the handwriting is just as conspicuous as in the Leicester MS. However I think the comparison of the two specimen pages selected at random from the Leicester MS., with a page from the Psalter as regards the writing, will be sufficient to enable the amateur in such matters equally with the expert to come to a satisfactory conclusion as to the identity of the two penmen. Further evidence will be forthcoming on the point presently.

Second, we subjoin the description of the Psalter<sup>1</sup> as it is found in Smith's Catalogue of the Caius MSS.

"Psalterium Davidis, Graece. Large octavo, clean stout vellum, in wood covered with leather, ff. 132. Rubrics and initials of verses in red, fol. numbered below in Greek letters and the number of sheets in old numerals. On the first fly-leaf in Dr Caius' hand, 'Collegio de Goneville et Caius, Gulielmus Mowse LL Doctor dono dedit 1571.' On p. 113 'here xeeld (l. xwld) be n̄o qweyr' off ye n̄byr off 8 ffor her ys all q ffr. Ric. Brynkeley.' At the end are written Isai. c. xxxviii, ver. 10 and Exod. ch. xv. Benedicite Magnificat and Benedictus Deus<sup>2</sup> &c. The rubric lettering and numbering are not carried through."

Thus far Smith: who means to say or should have said that each quire (quaternion) of the MS. is marked at the bottom of the first page in early Arabic numerals and also in the corner in Greek numerals, while the successive leaves after the first of the quire are numbered successively as the 2nd, 3rd &c. of the 1st,

<sup>1</sup> The text of this book was collated for the LXX. of Holmes and Parsons, in whose critical apparatus it stands No. 206.

<sup>2</sup> *I.e.* it should be described as Psalter and Canticles.

2nd and following quires. Our facsimile gives some idea of this, along with the weighty note to which Smith refers, in which a certain brother Brynkeley explains the accident by which the notation of the quires jumps from 7 to 9 and asserts that there is no missing quire. The Greek numeration is correctly given as our facsimile shews.

On the recto of the 97th leaf we again find the name of Brynkeley written in a fine gothic minuscule on the outer margin of the leaf, the spelling being Bryngkelei. These notes of ownership are of the utmost importance in what follows, for if we can trace back the Caius Psalter to its source, it will land us in the origin of the Leicester Codex or so near to it in time and place that the differences are of no moment. Before, however, we complete our description of the Psalter and give the history so far as it can be traced of brother Brynkeley, it is best to complete the identification of the scribes of the two MSS. in question by adding some evidence of a paleographical character which will probably dispel any doubts surviving in the minds of those who realize how delicate a point the identification of handwritings sometimes is. And since the whole evidence of a common origin depends on the demonstration of the common hand we add here the considerations derived from the structure of the two books considered paleographically. And in so doing we shall not only fortify the previous conclusion, but add to the existing knowledge with regard to the book-form of the times when our MSS. were produced.

### III. *On the Quires, Catchwords, &c. of the Leicester Codex.*

We have already alluded to the arrangement of the leaves of the Caius MS., as testified by the signatures of the first pages in each quire. The book follows the ordinary quaternion arrangement, and has nothing singular, except that there are catchwords from quire to quire, and that for the first half of each quire the leaves are numbered successively as being the 2nd, 3rd, 4th leaves

of the numbered quire. So that the fourth leaf of the fifth quire would be marked in the corner of its first page

$$\phi \nu^{\lambda} \tilde{\delta} \tilde{\tau} \tilde{\epsilon}$$

the flourishes being very curiously made.

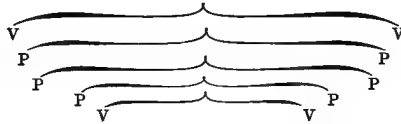
Now let us turn to the Leicester MS.

Recognising that the unit of composition in a Greek MS. is the quire, we ask ourselves what is the quire-arrangement in the codex. It will be worth while to examine this matter somewhat in detail. The MS. is, as is well known, composed of mixed vellum and paper, and as far as I know, no one has published any notes on the relative arrangement of the two materials in the structure of the quire; vellum-paper MSS. remain to be studied, as is frequently and unfortunately the case with transitional forms. Now the first descriptions of the codex attribute the arrangement of vellum and paper entirely to chance. Wetstein uses the words "temere permixtis." So Tregelles in Horne's *Introd.* p. 210 "Paper and vellum are used indiscriminately in its construction." Scrivener has corrected this statement by shewing that the book is generally composed of two vellum followed by three leaves of paper, "evidently with a calculation on the part of the writer as to how long the costlier material would hold out." And he expresses himself in a similar manner on p. 23 of the third edition of his *Introduction to the New Testament*, remarking that "Lost portions of parchment or vellum MSS. are often supplied in paper by some later hand; but the Codex Leicestrensis is unique in this respect, being composed of a mixture of inferior vellum and worse paper, regularly arranged in the proportion of two parchment to three paper leaves, recurring alternately throughout the volume." Now in these statements we have no clue to the structure of the quire: the Leicester Codex is further *not* unique either in being composed of mixed vellum and paper or in the manner in which the materials are arranged, and if it is not unique, the key to the arrangement is to be found in custom and not in any calculation as to the amount of vellum possessed by the scribe. That it is not unique in reference to the use of vellum and paper needs hardly to be demonstrated, but it may be noted that Dr Scrivener himself

records a similar use of materials in two copies of the Gospels, viz. Cod. 205, written for Cardinal Bessarion by John Rhosus, and now in the library of St Mark, and Cod. 233, now in the Escorial, but formerly the property of Matthew Dandolo, a Venetian noble. (How useful it might be if some one would determine for us more exactly the quire-structure and dates of these two Venetian copies!) And the proof that the arrangement of the Leicester Codex is not unique lies in the reference to other codices which have the same or only a slightly different sequence of paper and vellum leaves. We will for the present mention only one, viz. Mus. Brit. Harl. 3161, whose sequence is sometimes four and sometimes five leaves of paper to two of vellum.

This brings us to the actual arrangement of the Leicester Codex, assumed to be no longer an arbitrary matter.

The complete quire is formed of ten leaves, or more exactly five leaves doubled (what is sometimes called a quinion). So that the structure of a quire is as follows, V standing for a vellum leaf and P for paper :



The reason of this arrangement seems to lie partly in the protection of the less durable material from the friction to which detached quires are subject. This is the normal quire of the Leicester MS. According to this new quires begin on foll. 1, 11, 21, 31, 41, 51, 61, 71, 81, 91. The quire however that begins with 91 is peculiar, it is composed of VPPPPV, *i.e.* one double leaf of vellum and two of paper (ternion). Nor is the reason far to seek: for this quire ends the gospels, and there is always a tradition in favour of beginning a new group of books with a new quire. The epistles of Paul follow, the quires beginning on foll. 97, 107, 117, 127, 137 (the last quire being VPVVPV), then 143, 153 the final vellum leaf of which quire is cut away (probably because it was blank and the Pauline epistles were ended). The Acts and Cath. Epp. begin with a new quire on fol. 162, and continue with

quires at 172, 182 and 192, where the epistle of Jude stops abruptly with the close of the quire. The Apocalypse begins on a paper leaf, and up to the point where it is mutilated runs PPPPVVPPPPP, but not divided into two quires although there is a catchword at the end of the second V. Such being the arrangement of the book, it should be noted that almost all the quires have catchwords, and that not only on the last leaf of the quire but frequently in the early paper leaves (to assist the rapid arrangement of a quire in proper order). More than this the leaves in the early part of the separate quires have generally a leaf-signature assigning their place in the quire. These are often cut away by the binder, and are dismissed by Scrivener with a remark that a few words often illegible are scribbled at the foot of the first page of each leaf.

Now these leaf-signatures are *precisely similar to those found in the Caius Psalter*, they are the same in handwriting, abbreviations, flourishes, &c. and *complete the proof that the same hand wrote the two books*. As in the Caius MS. and for obvious reasons they only occur in the first half of each quire.

When we examine the quire-signatures and leaf-signatures more closely another fact comes to light, viz. that the MS. has been re-arranged: *e. g.* on fol. 14 we find  $\phi\nu^{\omega} \delta \tau\omicron\nu \iota\varsigma'$ , *i. e.* the 4th leaf of the 16th quire, and so on throughout the Gospels. Further, when we come to the Pauline epistles, instead of passing from quire 24 (the last quire in the Gospels) to quire 25 we begin with  $\alpha'$  (1) and run up to  $\zeta'$  (7). In the Acts there are no numbers apparent, and only catchwords from quire to quire, and occasionally upon the paper leaves. The Apocalypse has, I think, only a single catchword at the end of the vellum leaf.

Now from this it appears that the Gospels did not originally stand at the beginning of the codex, but at the end. For when we allow for the portion of the Gospel of Matthew which is lost with its prefixed table of chapters, making close on two missing quires, we find that the Gospels would have begun with quire 13.

Arranging then the book in the order

Paul. (= 7) + Act.-Cath. (= 4)

we have 11 quires; but then the epistle of Jude has lost a leaf

which seems to be the first leaf of the quire in which the Apocalypse stood (so that we should have Apoc. bound up with Act.-Cath., and the vellum leaf of the large quire VP<sup>s</sup>VVP<sup>s</sup>V lost from the beginning and end). This brings the right number of quires to the Gospels, which accordingly stood last, a point which, I believe, has been already noticed by Dr Gregory.

The whole construction is interesting, Act.-Cath.-Apoc. forming a complete section, and the Gospels standing at the end. And yet who shall say whether it is unique?

We should not omit to mention in this connexion that the foregoing enquiry adds something to the case for the antiquity of the Leicester MS. It has been noted by Dr Dobbin that the MS. must have been mutilated at the beginning before it came into the hands of its earliest known possessor William Chark, for Chark's name stands (not indeed as Dobbin gives it *ὄλιμ Ἰλερμου Χαρκου*, but *εἶμι Ἰλερμου Χαρκου*) at the beginning of the mutilated book. We may safely infer that the codex was well worn before it came into Chark's hands, further it had been re-arranged before it reached him, or otherwise the mutilations would not be found where they are. Add to this that the whole of the book has been studiously repaired, both vellum and paper leaves, by the introduction of strips of a commoner paper, which needs to be made the subject of further examination.

So far as the evidence is worth anything it seems to shew that the MS. had seen its share of the vicissitudes of book-life before the end of the sixteenth century.

Observe further that my count of the number of leaves does not agree with that given by Scrivener and other writers. My calculation is

nine quinions	= 90 leaves
one ternion	= 6 "
four quinions	= 40 "
one ternion	= 6 "
two quinions minus one leaf	= 19 "
four quinions	= 40 "
and twelve concluding leaves	= 12 "
	<hr/>
	213 leaves in all,

of which 83 are vellum, and 130 paper.



According to Scrivener 91 are vellum, and 122 are paper, so that there are eight leaves of disputed material in the book!

#### IV. *On the former owners of the Caius Psalter.*

Having now completed the demonstration of the identity of origin of the two MSS., we proceed to trace their ownership as far as possible. And we begin with the Caius Psalter as being the most promising direction. The MS. was presented to Caius College in 1571 by Dr William Mowse. Mowse was Master of Trinity Hall, and apparently a friend of Dr Caius as well as a next-door neighbour. A good many particulars with regard to him may be found in Cooper, *Athenae Cantab.* II. 43. His official connexion with Trinity Hall was abruptly severed twelve years before he presented the Psalter to Caius College, by his refusal to take the oath of supremacy which was then being tendered to the whole body of the University and College officers. Mowse's place was filled by Dr Henry Harvey, Vice-Chancellor of the University in the year following his election as Master<sup>1</sup>.

Richard Brynkley is the earliest known possessor of the Caius Psalter. The only evidence that we have yet produced with regard to him consists in the fact that he signs himself *frater*: he was accordingly a member of a monastic community, and it is not, therefore, a difficult step of the imagination to infer that the Psalter passed into Mowse's hands either directly or with very slight interposition of ownership at the time of the dissolution of the monasteries<sup>2</sup>. And we shall shew that Richard Brynkley was a student in Cambridge University and a member of the Franciscan order in that place (Grey-friars); that he became provincial minister of the order in England; that he continued in this office until the dissolution of the monasteries, and was buried in Cambridge.

When these and other interesting points are established we shall have advanced the matter in hand a good bit. We shall arrange our history of Brinkley in the following order. First, we draw atten-

<sup>1</sup> Mullinger, *Hist. Univ. Camb.* II. 177.

We have not much need to enquire further into Mowse's history, for the simple reason that we have the name of an earlier pos-

essor, in quest of whom we must now go.

<sup>2</sup> Scrivener has ventured this suggestion as to the monastic origin of the Codex in his *Cod. Augiensis*.

tion to existing MSS. which were at one time or other in his possession and contain notes of his own on their fly-leaves or margins.

There is in the British Museum a MS. (*Cleop. C. 9*) which contains the following treatises: *De gestis Ricardi primi regis* (extracted from Roger de Hoveden), followed by *Lamentationes Matheoluli* and *versus Stapulensis ad Engelbranum praesulem*. On f. 63, where the *Lamentationes* begin, we find the following note: "Liber ffris Thomae Trūpyton sacrae theologiae doctor, ordinis minorum quem dedit ffrī Ricardo Brynkele tunc temporis studenti Cantabrigie."

The above inscription (with one or two abbreviations reduced) is in two hands, of which the second is I think Brinkley's own, beginning "quem dedit;" and in that case the first line is Dr Thomas Trumpynton's writing. The latter was by his own admission a Franciscan friar; and it is clear enough, if there were no other evidence, that Brinkley studied under him or near him. Observe in passing that both names are of families in the Eastern counties: "Trompyngtoun nat fer fro Cantebrigge" we need not dwell on; Brinkley is a village not far from Newmarket, and within a walk of Cambridge. The Brinkley family had monastic traditions: John de Brinkeley, LL.B., was made Abbot of Bury in 1361 and died 1369<sup>1</sup>. Another John Brinkley was ordained deacon 1 June, 1409, and priest of the order of friars preachers at Cambridge March 28, 1411. Another Richard Brinkley is given as Dean of the Arches in 1407 in Newcourt's *Repertorium* I. 443.

The next book that we know to have been at one time in his possession is a far more famous one, the celebrated Caius gospels. The following notes from Smith's Catalogue may be given with some corrections necessary at certain points, in addition to those accounts of the book which are found in the pages of Scrivener or Tischendorf.

"The ink is fine, like paint. On p. 1 is 806, after it 1806 and this inscription, Iste liber est de con- fratrum minorum Oxonie omisus et accommodatus fri. Ric. Brynkeley Magistro. Above in the same hand q<sup>tuor</sup> Evang. 1. 806. Then follows the title novu<sup>m</sup> Tes-

<sup>1</sup> Hailstone, *History of Bottisham Abbey*, p. 177. This John de Brinkeley was the owner of the MS. 8 E x. in the British Museum. A note in the book states that it is "Liber

Monachorum S. Edmundi emptus per dominum Ioh. de Brinkeley abbatem in quaternis et per fratrem Robertum de Beccles colligatus."

tamentum Graecum, quod Collegio de Gonville et Caius dono dedit Thomas Hatcher Artium Magister 1567." Observe that the unintelligible 806 and 1806 are only a misunderstanding—of the closing letters in *quatuor evan i stas*, also for *con-* read *conite* (? communitate, conventu), for *omissus* read *concessus*. The last words from 'concessus' to 'magistro' are in a different hand, viz. Brinkley's own, as appears when Smith's spelling is corrected to Bryngkeley and the writing compared with the marginal note in the Psalter.

Observe further that on the margin of the book in the eleventh chapter of Luke, and in the same hand as before, we find *m<sup>s</sup> bryngkeley*; and again at the end of the Gospels, by a rude hand,

ρ βρηγκελει διδασκωλως

where the *διδασκαλος* is evidently meant for Magister, the title of the provincial minister of the order. It appears, therefore, that Brinkley borrowed the book from the Grey Friars at Oxford, which his authority and his fraternity entitled him to do, that he took it to Cambridge from whence it did not return, but passed successively to Hatcher and the library of Caius College. We have thus not only collected valuable information as to Brinkley himself, but we have restored a part of his library, as follows :

<i>Lament. Matheoluli</i>	<i>Caius Psalter</i>	<i>Caius Gospels</i>
Thomas Trumpington		Grossteste?
Richard Brynkeley	Richard Brynkeley	Friars Minors of Oxford
British Museum	William Mowse	Richard Brynkeley
	Caius College	Thomas Hatcher
		Caius College

And it is now within the bounds of speculation that if we were to add to the above

*Leicester Codex*  
Richard Brynkeley  
|  
William Chark  
|  
Thomas Hayne  
|  
Leicester Borough

we should not be very wide of the mark, but we will not draw conclusions too soon<sup>1</sup>.

One other MS. may be added to the foregoing: it does not indeed contain any mark of Brinkley's ownership, but it is a Franciscan MS. which has reached Caius College Library through the same source as the Gospels, viz. Thomas Hatcher; and when we remark that it has within it the name of a predecessor of Brinkley in the provincial Wardenship of the order, it is almost certain that it passed through his hands to Hatcher, and so to the College. The description which I append would then shew an additional member of the Franciscan-Brinkley Library, whose owners were

John Milham  
|  
John la Zowch  
|  
[Richard Brinkeley]  
|  
John Aynsworth of Christ's College  
|  
Thomas Hatcher of King's College  
|  
Caius College (Cod. 372).

The history of this MS. is arrived at as follows:

<sup>1</sup> Not to disturb our study of the Brinkley History, which is the main point, I relegate the following not wholly uninteresting matter to a note.

The Caius Gospels are so important both textually and paleographically that I subjoin a few remarks with reference to them.

a. The Thomas Hatcher who presented the book to the College was the son of Dr Hatcher, who appears in the Cambridge Calendar as Regius Professor of Physic between 1554—1564. (See also Baker MSS. 29.) He collected a catalogue of all the Provosts, Fellows and Scholars of the "King's Colledge of the blessed Virgin Mary and S<sup>t</sup> Nicholas in the Universitie of Cambridge." This Catalogue is preserved in Caius Library (No. 173) apparently with some additions. Hatcher himself is described in it, in an entry under date 1555, as follows:

"Thomas Hatcher, sonne of D<sup>r</sup> Hatcher, the Queenes Ma<sup>ties</sup> Physicke Professour in this Universitie, went first to Graves Inne

and after studyed Physicke. He tooke great paines in collecting this Catalogue in token of his loue to this royall foundation. He wrote 2 bookes according to the Centurie of Baleus of excellent men that had been of this Universitie since the time of the foundation of this Colledge, and a chronologie of Cambridge antiquities, being himself a great Antiquarie, a religious honest and learned man: he dyed in Lincolnshire."

β. It will be observed that I have conjectured above that the Caius Gospels came into the possession of the Friars Minors at Oxford along with other books left them by Grossteste. The supposition is not in itself at all an improbable one. My principal reason for the suggestion lies in the fact that the Caius Gospels contain an inter-linear Latin gloss to the difficult words which is in the same hand as will be found to have been at work upon a beautiful Greek Psalter with Canticles in the Library of Corpus Christi (No. 480), which belongs to the col-

The first part of the book is a history of animals and is followed by Alex. Necham *de laude Sapientiae*. It contains at the end: "istum librum contulit ff. Iohs. de Milham Reverēdo Sacr. Theol. doct. Ioh. Zouch.

Marie for thyn holy grace  
Help frere John Milam in every place."

The name of John Aynsworth is added amongst the owners on account of notes made by him in the book.

John Zowch, the first owner after the original scribe, was 29th Provincial of the Franciscans in England and bishop of Llandaff. He died in 1423<sup>1</sup>.

We now pass on to add one or two more details with regard to the academic and monastic positions occupied by Brinkley. There is some doubt about the time at which he became a doctor of divinity, as will be seen in the following record of the event of his incorporation into the University of Oxford in Wood's *Fasti Oxon.* p. 670.

"1524. June. Richard Brynckley, a Minorite or Franciscan Fryer, Dr of Divinity of Cambridge and as our publick register

lection of Matthew Parker. Other marginal hands may be identified in the two books. Now there is some reason for referring the Corpus Psalter to Grossteste and his companions, though I cannot exactly recall the reasoning by which that result is arrived at. Those who care to work the matter out will find a slip of vellum pasted in the beginning of the Corpus Psalter intimating (in a hand of Parker's time?) that "Hic liber script per eū qui sc. ypomnisticon grece." If any perplexity should arise in reference to this the Hypomnesticon in question may be found in the University Library (Ff. 1. 24). This beautiful book (cent. xi.) contains also other important matter, such as the two books of Chronicles (Holmes' Cod. 60) and Grossteste's copy of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs.

<sup>1</sup> There is another Caius MS. which I suspect to be Franciscan, but have not been able to examine. It is numbered 325, and contains at the beginning Formæ procedendi in visitatione Ioh. epis. Landavensis, whom

I suppose to be again John Zowch.

There are five or six other MSS. in the British Museum, which should be examined in connexion with the foregoing. They may help us much in our analysis. I believe these books are all said to have come from the Grey Friars of Canterbury. Now I want to know whether this is owing to inscriptions of the form "fratrum minorum conventus Cant." which I know to be in the first of those on my list: are they certainly Canterbury MSS., or may they be from Cambridge? For the Canterbury Franciscans seem to have been a very insignificant people, as far as I am able to judge from the books on monastic literature. The books are

Reg. 3, C. XI.  
Reg. 2, D. XXIV.  
Reg. 3, D. 2.  
Reg. 3, D. IV.  
Reg. 3, E. IX.,

and query whether Reg. 8, E. III. described later on belongs to the same group or not?

saith General Minister of the Minorites throughout England. His supplication which was granted simpliciter and his incorporation are set down in the said register under this year (1524), yet perusing Cambridge tables containing the names of such who were admitted doctors of that University, he is put down there under the year 1527 as being then admitted D of D. In the said Generalship or Provincialship he succeeded Dr Henry Standish, and was succeeded by Steph. Baron, a Cambridge man, Confessor to K. Henry VIII. and an eminent preacher of his time."

The difficulty suggested by Wood I do not see my way to resolve, nor is it important for the matter in hand. It is quite sufficient to know that he was Doctor of Divinity about the time mentioned by Wood. His office as provincial minister would take him frequently from Cambridge to Oxford, London, Reading or any places where his order had established itself. The evidence derived from his books shews him both at Cambridge and Oxford.

There are numerous monastic catalogues of the various Wardens of the Franciscans in Cambridge, Oxford, &c., and of the Provincial Ministers in England, which last give Brinkley's name. The following is the conclusion of the list of English Provincials which is given in *Supplementum Historiæ Provinciæ Angliæ*, bound up with the Syllabus to Wadding's *History of the Franciscan Order* (Duaci, 1671).

48. Henricus Standish Doct. Cantab. Ep. Asaphensis 1520. Egregie scripsit contra Erasmi versionem novi Testamenti.

49. Richardus Brinkley: jacet Cantabrigiæ ubi erat Doctor, in variis variorum temporum ministrorum catalogis ponitur ultimus, hoc est ante unionem. Hic videtur catalogis usque ad an. 1517 quando totus ordo inversus est, tunc ex observantia totius Angliæ constitutus est Provincialis in Capitulo generalissimo.

50. Stephanus Baronus.

51. Johannes Forrestus.

When we reflect that Brinkley studied at Cambridge, graduated there in the highest theological honours, was in authority there and elsewhere at the time of the monastic break-up, and there was buried, we cannot be far wrong in referring the Caius Psalter at a very early period in its history to the Franciscan Convent in Cambridge,

and in fact we have as yet no evidence of any moment that enables us to place it outside Cambridge at all. And if this should be demonstrated for the Caius Psalter, and if the Leicester Codex, written by the same hand, can be traced back as far as we yet know its history to a remarkable Cambridge man of the sixteenth century, is it not in the highest degree likely that the Leicester Codex also has been obtained from the same source?

But in order to make assurance doubly sure, we will set Brinkley on one side and make a complete demonstration that the Caius Psalter was actually bound in the Grey Friars Convent in Cambridge, and we will fix a time-limit which must be a good many years anterior to the time when it was thus bound.

V. *The binding of the Caius Psalter placed and approximately dated.*

At the end of the Caius Psalter there is pasted over the board cover a double leaf of vellum which once formed a somewhat rude account book of a monastic foundation, with the receipts for masses said and record of gifts brought in by the mendicants. In order to make this interesting document accessible to the reader in its original form, I have appended a photograph of it, which happily is easier to read in some respects than the original. Our business is to determine from the receipts the monastery to which they refer, for we may regard it as certain that in this monastery the bookbinding and perhaps the writing of the MS. was done.

The following is the transcription of the two leaves, to which I have for convenience added the necessary numbering of the lines for reference and some notes by way of elucidation.

Leaf A: *left-hand leaf.*

1. Hardessol pro aia dne Amisie de Scalers 1 marc in pitancia.
2. [f]esto sce Anne fr. Johes.....expendidit in pitancia xvii d. ob.
3. Willm Scherwid xvi d. id. Radulphu Child xii d. item
4. fm Thomam Ely ob honorem sce Anna. xvii d.
5. quinta...per frem Johan Weting pro aia Willi. Flicham ad
6. [su]am pitancia xii. d. item per frem Johan de Ely xvi s.





15.  $\overline{\text{dñs}} \overline{\text{Jhs}}$  Josphef pro  $\overline{\text{aia}} \overline{\text{dñe}}$  de Scalers xx s.  
 16. primus compotus post finalem pridie kl. augusti.  
 17. Margerie de Saustone pro  $\overline{\text{aia}} \overline{\text{Jhs}}$  viri sui xv sol. vi d.  
 18. burgenses de Lenia. xld.  
 19. f. Nicholaus Ramisseya. ii sol. vi d.  
 20. fr  $\overline{\text{Johs}}$  Wetinge. ii. sol.  
 21. f. Robertus Plumstede. xv s.  
 22. Margareta Boteler pro statu suo et pro  $\overline{\text{aia}}$  viri sui  
 23. et pro quibusdam teneris ix sol. ix d. ob per Plumstede.  
 24. Tertius compotus factus in vigil Simonis et Jude.  
 25. prior gardianus expendit in pitancia feriarum v ante festum omnium sanctorum i marc.  
 26. Quartus compotus in vigil  $\overline{\text{sce}}$  Barbare.  
 27. per magistrum in pitancia x d.  
 28. Margareta Bussal. v s. x d. per Hardsel.  
 29. Blaunpeyn. xxx d. per Wetinge.

The following explanatory remarks may be made on the text of this document :

A. 1. The letters at the commencement are the remains of the name of brother Hardessell, who appears again in line A. 15 and again as collecting money from or for the same family in B. 1, 2, also B. 28. The name of the lady whose soul is to be prayed for appears again in B. 1 and 15; spelling in either case follows the law of liberty.

A. 2. The name after Johannes is inserted, apparently with an abbreviation over the line. I have not been able to read it. But I think it is meant for an abbreviation of the name in A. 14. The terms "in pitancia," "in pitanciam" which occur so constantly throughout the document imply the common fund of the convent. "Ob" is, of course, one halfpenny.

A. 3. The word *per* seems to have been cut away.

A. 5. I am unable to read the second word in the line.

A. 10. *de Sco Yvone* = of St Ives.

A. 12. *compotus* = *computus*, and so throughout.

A. 14. *Barburwm* is apparently the same as *Badbur* in line 21: I take it to be the modern Babraham, a village near Cambridge which enjoys exceptional varieties of spelling in early records.

A. 21. There are two or three other letters to decipher at the beginning of the line.

A. 26. Margaret Butler appears again in B. 14 and B. 22. She seems to have been in brother Plumstede's collecting district.

A. 27. Only parts of this and the next line are legible.

B. 6. The Abbess of Denny, a foundation of Minoresses near Cambridge,

of which more presently. The reverse of the leaf which is occasionally legible shews as well as line B. 8 that she continued to send her pigs to the convent with praiseworthy regularity.

B. 10. More provisions promised to the convent; apparently an osier-basket (*fiscina*) of sprats (*cepula* is a diminutive form of *cepia* and implies some sort of small fish) together with a barrel of herrings (*alec*=herring: more exactly, I think, salted herrings). For the term 'cade' and the value of this part of the gift see the following entry in Domestic Papers of Henry VIII. Vol. III. Part 2, p. 1403,

1 cade of herrings = 10s.

B. 18. *Lenia*=Lynn; the name of the borough of Lynn is spelt variously *Lena* (*Domesday-book*) and, I think, *Lema*.

A reference to the accounts of the borough of Lynn, which go back to a very early period and are in fine preservation and nearly perfect, ought to decide at once the convent to which the sum of forty pence was paid in the year 1366. Through the courtesy of the town-clerk of the borough, I was enabled to make some search for the item, but on the first occasion unsuccessfully, and my departure from England made a second visit impossible.

B. 29. The name *Blaunpeyn* is, as I shall shew presently, that of a monk of the Franciscan order.

On the reverse of these two leaves, when detached from the boards, a good reader could make out much more of a similar kind to the above. I only note here, two pigs from Denny Abbey; also the names of brothers Roger Wallsham, Robert Plumstede, and Thomas Beri (*Bury*). There is a further entry of 16 shillings for the soul of *Amisie de Seschalers*, whose progress in the other world seems to have been peculiarly remunerative to the brethren.

I notice also on a slip of the vellum which has been turned in by the binder the entries,

...per Thomam Clopton 1 mar.

in piltancia per frem Johem Badburw...xxxi s. vi d.

For the latter see line A. 2.

Now in reviewing this very interesting piece of vellum, the first thing that strikes one with reference to the monastery in question is that it must have been located somewhere in the Eastern counties of England. Almost all the names bear this upon them: we find *Ely*, *Baldock*, *Walsham*, *St Ives*, *Babraham*, *Massingham*, *Plum-*

stead, Denny, Sawston, Lynn, Ramsey and Bury. All of these names belong to Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridge, Hunts and Hertfordshire. And therefore we may be sure that we are dealing with a monastery in the Eastern counties.

Several of the other names that occur, which are not properly geographical, belong to families of whom the Eastern counties preserve traces. (I do not refer to the Audley family, inasmuch as they did not settle at Audley End, near Walden, until the time when Henry VIII. got possession of the great Benedictine Abbey there, and bestowed it on one of those who did not further his ends for nought, however necessary in some regards church reforms might be.)

Take for instance the name of Clopton; William de Clopton was Abbot and one of the principal benefactors of Thorney Abbey in Huntingdonshire; he died in 1322.

The family were also found in the parish of Walden in Essex; in the 19th year of Edward II., *i. e.* A.D. 1326, Thomas Clopton was seised of a capital messuage and six score acres of land in Cheping Walden, and held also eight acres of the Abbot of Walden by the service of two shillings. Part of these lands in Walden parish are still called Cloptons. The date is only forty years before that of our account-book, and nothing is therefore more likely than that the Thomas Clopton whose name appears on the turned-in slip of vellum is this very man or an immediate connexion. It will be observed that he is not a member of the monastery, or we should most likely have had *fratrem* before his name.

The Butler family also exercised manorial rights in the same parish at an early period, although at the time of our document they do not seem to have held property in or near Walden, and in any case the name is too common to base an argument upon. Nor is it necessary to attempt to do so, since we are able to point out the very William Butler to whom reference is made. The following note in Dugdale's *Baronage*, i. 595, relates to a William Butler who died in 1362 (four years before the monastic entry of payments for his soul): "This William took to wife Margaret the wife of Richard Fitz-alan earl of Arundell and died on Saturday next preceding Christmas Day in 35<sup>th</sup> Edward iii ... leaving William his son and heir xxx years of age."

But there is not much need for an elaborate scrutiny of county histories when we turn to the simple solution of our problem afforded by the Abbess of Denny and her recurring pig. In the nature of things at that time a periodic pig could not have been sent a long distance. And we may therefore enquire whither the Abbess of Denny was most likely to send this token of monastic attachment. Would it be Ramsey, Thorney, Bury St Edmunds, Walden, or one of the numerous religious foundations in Cambridge? The nearest of the places mentioned is Cambridge. Denny Abbey, the remains of which are still to be seen, built into more modern and secular architecture, is situated close to the village of Waterbeach, on the Great Eastern Railway, and about seven miles from Cambridge towards Ely. We may take 1342 as the date of its foundation, *i.e.* of Denny Abbey as distinct from the still earlier foundation of Waterbeach Abbey, which it absorbed. Its first abbess is Katherine de Bolwyk, and it must have been either this lady or one of her immediate successors that was engaged in the hog-industry.

The probability that the pigs went to Cambridge is increased when we note that Denny Abbey, representing the poor Clares or Minoresses in this district, is necessarily in close connexion with the Franciscan convent at Cambridge, in a certain sense subordinate to them, and certainly in frequent communication. Probably from thence they obtained a soul-priest when they established a little chantry in connexion with their abbey. But perhaps nothing illustrates so well the relations between the two convents as the fact that we find them getting possession of the patronage of the rectory of Eltisley (15th June, 1512) and using as their agent in the matter our friend Richard Brinkley himself<sup>1</sup>.

Our suspicion that we are to trace the Caius Psalter back to the Franciscan convent in Cambridge is confirmed by the entry in line A. 25, "in pitancia per procuratorem." Now a proctor is not a recognised part of a monastery, but he is and has been a leading feature in Cambridge University from the beginning until now; and more than this there were especial reasons why the proctor of the University should make a payment to the Franciscans. For at the time in question, or certainly not much later,

<sup>1</sup> Clay's *History of Waterbeach*, p. 108.

there was no room available for University Commencements like the Church of the Grey Friars: and the University accounts still shew traces of the payments made to carpenters for erecting in the church the stages necessary for public exercises. Further than this, when in the reign of Richard II., *i.e.* A.D. 1388, the parliament was held in Cambridge, it was in the church of the Grey Friars that the assembly met; which shews that upon public occasions their buildings (which at first were only a few sheds knocked together by the day's labour of a single carpenter, but soon changed to a greater dignity of architecture) were in demand to meet needs that no other of the Abbeys or Colleges could supply<sup>1</sup>.

Another trace of the Grey Friars will be found in the reference to the festival of St Ludovicus, bishop and confessor. It may be asked why this should be drawn attention to rather than the name of St Dominic, which occurs in the same document? St Louis was a Franciscan of comparatively recent canonization at the time of our document. The day of his commemoration is Aug. 19, the year of his canonization 1317. It may well be doubted whether within this period his name would become a leading one in the calendar. But if anywhere, certainly among the Friars-minors, who looked upon him with reverence on account of the royal blood that flowed under his grey coat. The following extract from a Franciscan MS. (Mus. Britt. *Cotton, Vitellius*, F. xii., printed in *Monumenta Franciscana*, p. 540) will shew this more clearly:

Procedente tempore diversorum regum filii ordinem minorum intraverunt, inter quos est unus frater Ludovicus, nunc sanctus et canonizatus, filius Caroli regis Siciliae et haeres regni illius; postmodum episcopus Tolosanus.

It will be noticed that an octave of days in our account book is given to St Louis.

Nor are there wanting illustrations from the Minorite Order which bear upon some of the families that are here mentioned. The following instance may be given: In line B. 29 we find a sum of money collected by brother Weting from Blaunpeyn. This last name is so peculiar that I could hardly believe I had read it correctly. But a reference to Pitseus, *De illust. Angliae Script.* 322,

<sup>1</sup> Baker-Mayor, *Hist. St John's Coll.* p. 38.

shews the following entry among the writers of the Franciscan order :

Michael Blaunpains vulgo magister cognominatus, natione Anglus, patria Cornubiensis, apud suos ab annis pene puerilibus ob egregiam indolem bonis praeceptoribus erudiendus tradebatur, et post prima Grammatices imbibita rudimenta, missus Oxonium deinde Parisios, utrobique multa industria, miraque ingenii foelicitate variam collegit scientiarum suppellectilem. Prae caeteris autem se dedit elegantiae linguae Latinae, fuitque inter praecipuos sui temporis poetas per Angliam potissimum et Galliam numeratus. Hunc subinde citat Textor in Cornucopia sub nomine Michaelis Anglici. Suppetebat etiam illi non vulgaris historiarum cognitio. Itaque secundum politam qua insigniter instructus erat eruditio- nem in lucem emisit ;

Historiarum Normanniae. Librum unum.

Contra Henricum Abrincensem: versu. Librum unum. (Incipit) " Archi- poeta vide quod non sit." (extat) ms in bibliotheca Lumleiana.

Epistolarum et Carminum. Librum unum.

Claruit anno Messiae 1250 sub Henrici tertii regno.

I have no means of determining whether Pits' account of this writer is to be relied upon: it is of course possible that he is dated a century too early: but in any case the name is a Franciscan one, and the family to which he belonged may well have been associated with the Grey Friars.

*We conclude, then, that the Caius Psalter was put into its present binding in the Convent of the Grey Friars in Cambridge, and that in the course of the work the binder employed a leaf of vellum from an account-book belonging to the monastery, marked with the date 1366.*

From the occurrence of the same names on both sides of the doubled leaf we infer that the left-hand leaf is not much earlier in its accounts than the dated half on the right. But what length of time elapsed until the destruction of the account-book from the time when it was written, we have no means of determining; *à priori* it does not look as if we could refer the book-binding to as early a period as the fourteenth century.

It will be noticed that we have only argued as to the place and date of the *binding* of the Psalter, we have drawn no conclusion of a positive character with regard to the *writing* of the MS. If the book were brought to Cambridge from elsewhere, it would probably travel unbound; a letter of Adam de

Marisco<sup>1</sup> illustrates this point where, in asking for a copy of Aristotle to be forwarded, he recommends that the covers be removed and the book placed in a waxed cloth. And if it was worth while to do this with a book that was already bound, no one can assume that it did not occur before a book had reached the stage of unity. We see this also in the Leicester Codex, which, from its lost quires and its rearranged matter, must have had vicissitudes of the kind referred to. But our examination leads us to this, that whether the two books in question were written in Cambridge or not they were probably both in the Franciscan convent about the same time, since we definitely trace one as being bound there, and apparently in Cambridge hands ever after, and the other, the companion volume, is found in Cambridge hands as far back as we have yet succeeded in tracing it.

In concluding this portion of the enquiry we may add a few points of interest with regard to the Grey Friars convent itself, which we begin to see to have been a true home of learning down to the very time of its dissolution. The building occupied the position which is now held by Sidney Sussex College; but before that foundation was established, the buildings had been wrecked and the stones and timber carried off to form a part of the king's academical reconstruction known as Trinity College. It is difficult to see what object was to be gained by pulling a college down on one side of the street and rebuilding it on the other; and one cannot help wishing for Fate to have bestowed on us a little less of Trinity College and a little more or longer of the Grey Friars. In that case, too, the foundation of Sidney Sussex would have been united, as was the intention of the foundress, with Clare Hall; another result that would have been academically desirable. But we must not attempt to write a history of Cambridge as it might or should have been; and for Cambridge as it was, it is sufficient to refer to the work of Mr J. W. Clark on the Architectural History of the University.

The good reputation of the Cambridge Friars may perhaps be inferred from the fact that their surrender was delayed until the year 1538; the document thereof is not without interest, and

<sup>1</sup> See *Monumenta Franciscana*.

I print it from the Records of the Augmentation office (Deeds of Surrender of Monasteries, No. 44).

*Cambridge Grey Friars.*

Domus fratrum minorum Cantebr̄. in com. Cantebr̄. vulgariter dict. the Gray Frers in Cantebr̄. in com. Cantebr̄. (30 Henry VIII.)<sup>1</sup>.

Willielmus Whyte	Gardianus.
Thomas Dysse	Doctor.
Robertus Whight	Doctor.
Joannes Fakum	Vicegardianus.
Joannes Donne.	Willielmus Thurbane.
Laurentius Draper.	Gulielmus Cateryke.
Gulielmus Cressy.	Joannes Arnold.
Joannes Yonge.	Richardus Schaffe.
Lucas Taylor.	Willielmus Mene.
Thomas Skott.	Johannes Brake.
Johannes Vincent.	Willielmus Canon.
Damascenus Daly.	Johannes Cooke.
Georgius Porrytt.	Thomas Gyldart.
Joannes Stralen.	Matheus Lainson.

Without Seal. From the Deputy Keeper's 8th Report.

We may conjecture that the books belonging to the convent were disposed of before the day of surrender. When Leland visited the place, there were not many of any importance remaining. Some of those which he notes may, I think, yet be found in the libraries of the Cambridge Colleges. They are as follows :

*Collectanea* iv. 16.

Cantabrigiae. In Biblioteca Franciscanorum.

Epistolae Roberti Grosstest in numero 127 ex quibus apparet illum fuisse archidiaconum Leycestrensem. (Incipit) Novit sanctitas.

Epistola fratris Gulielmi Notingham de obedientia.

Epistola Lincolniensis instar libelluli ad Adamum Rufum quod deus prima forma et forma omnium.

Duo sermones Lincolniensis habiti coram Papa.

Ambrosius Ausbertus.

These five volumes are all that Leland notes as remaining<sup>2</sup>.

We shall now return to the Leicester Codex and examine whether any other directions are open to us by which we may

<sup>1</sup> Day and month left blank.

London House he records some fifty or sixty

<sup>2</sup> In the Oxford Franciscan Library he found little besides cobwebs, but in the

and a few at Reading.



arrive at a closer knowledge of its history and origin. We shall take up the question of ownership at the point where previous investigations have left it, *i.e.* with William Chark, and as in Brinkley's case, we will construct a Chark-Library: in this instance, however, so much more of Chark's literary and personal history can be arrived at from other sources than from his notes made in his books, that it is best to give a short sketch of his academical and subsequent life, and then proceed afterwards to the attempted reconstruction of his collection of manuscripts.

#### VI. *Of William Chark formerly owner of the Leicester Codex.*

It is well known that the Leicester Codex was given to that borough in 1645 along with other legacies (including books, I suppose) by Thomas Hayne, whose name appears upon the vellum binding with which the MS. is now adorned<sup>1</sup>.

Previous to Hayne, it was in the possession of William Chark, whose name appears in a fine Greek hand on the first page of the MS., as already stated. Edwards (*l. c.*) gives him as William Clarke, adds the important information that he was possessed of other MSS. of the same class (by which he may, however, mean nothing more than the Montfort Codex) and describes him as "the ejected fellow of Peterhouse."

A similar mistake as to the name is noted by Dobbin in the Emmanuel College Collation of the Montfort Codex which is supposed to have been made for Walton's Polyglot, for here a corrector has changed the name from Charc into Clark; and it is supposed that from thence the Catalogue of MSS. prefixed to the collation given in the sixth volume of Walton has derived the name of Clerk. It is needful to repeat this in order that

<sup>1</sup> Edwards, *Hist. of Libraries*, i. 750. Edwards also gives us the information regarding the acquisition by the Town Council of the Collation of the MS. made by Jackson, Tiffin and Gee for Wetstein. According to Edwards this was purchased thirty years before his time, and was made in an Oxford Greek Test. of 1685 (*l.* 1675, it must be

Fell's edition): it was at one time the property of Caesar de Missy in the sale-catalogue of whose library A.D. 1776 it is described as follows: "Collatio codicis Leicesterensis per Rev. J. Jackson adscripta margine N. T. Graece impressi Oxonii 1675. Hoc est originale e quo variantes lectiones suo N. T. inseruit Wetstenius."

those who have access to collections of MSS. may be on the look-out among the Clerk- or Clark-owned MSS. for additions to the collection which we shall presently give as that of William Chark.

Now concerning Chark and his expulsion, the details given in works on the New Testament MSS. in general, or on Codd. Leicestrensis and Montfortianus in particular, are sufficiently meagre. Mill describes him rightly, as *καλλιγραφώτατος* and "in Graecis insigniter versatus," to which Dobbin adds, from such a repertory of knowledge as the New Annual Register for 1792 (!), that he was mentioned as a distinguished scholar in Queen Elizabeth's time, and suspects that he was probably the same William Chark who was of Peter House and was expelled the University for heresy (!) in 1572; a remark which is I think carried over by Scrivener into his description of the Leicester Codex, uncertainty and all!

And yet Chark was, as far as we have any means of judging, one of the learned men of his time, and measured by the principles which he enunciated and the firmness with which he adhered to them, a central figure in the bright and burning time of transition from the worship of the rude image of authority, which was supposed to have come down in some unexplained manner from Jupiter, to that purer ritual which consists in cherishing for the sake of other men the spark of heavenly flame that burns within the hollowed reed of one's own Individuality. But because it was easy to suppress this great man provided that no time was unduly wasted in justifying the act of condemnation, Chark was deprived of the honourable position which he held among the rising men of his time, and sent out academically 'unhouseled' as far as regards the outward bread of life, and 'unannealed' except for that holy oil of joy which flows down constantly upon those who are elected to think great thoughts and greatly to express them.

And so it has come about that the name of William Chark is forgotten in Cambridge even in his own College. What then was the terrible charge upon which he suffered the double ejection from College and University, the heresy which is suggested by Dr Dobbin? Nothing more or less than that he was guilty of the blasphemy against dignities, and did even say that Papacies, Metropolitanisms, and Arch-Priesthoods were the invention of Satan, and

that the ministers of the Church were, or ought to be, a fraternity, rather than a hierarchy. This in Great St Mary's, and before the Heads, who might, if such principles were carried further, be (Heaven shield us!) bracketed with the Tails; and in the presence of the clergy with their keen sense that what is said in the corner in the Latin tongue has before now been translated (without authority) upon the house tops and into the vulgar speech that is own brother to Action.

If he had only said Papacies were of the devil, we might have forgiven him, perhaps even published his sermon, or rewarded him with the privilege, in which ecclesiastical lions were indulging somewhat freely about that time, of roaring again; but to add the Bishops and Archbishops, we in Cambridge cannot abide that: Master Chark, in so saying thou reproachest us also, or mayest do so, before Time is much older!

In describing briefly this trumpery charge, which deprived not Chark so much as Cambridge, I have thought it would be best to append the documents which passed between the Chancellor, the Vice-Chancellor and the criminal; nothing so well brings out the contrast between the persecutors and the freeman as the perusal successively of the graceful and forcible Latin periods, with an occasional Greek jewel, of Chark and the peevish English in which the Heads of Houses make their senility a memorial to all generations.

The course of proceeding seems to be as follows:

Chark preached the fatal sermon on December 5th, 1572; on February 5th following he was expelled both from the University and from St Peter's College (the Vice-Chancellor's letter of December 14th has the good taste to speak of him already as "*late fellow of Peterhouse*"). To this decree Chark replied in the most dignified manner with the single word "*appello*," and the case accordingly went before Lord Burghley, the Chancellor of the University.

The first paper that describes the situation is taken from Matthew Stokys' book<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> All these documents will be found in *Transactions during the Puritan Period*, I. 123 ff. Heywood and Wright, *Cambridge Transac-*

Stokys. was one of the inferior University Officials who kept copies for himself of the historical documents &c. of the time: he furnishes us with the following:

6° Decembris: an° 1572

Magistro Willelmo Charke, collegii divi Petri in Cantebr. Socio, concionanti ad clerum in ecclesia beatae Mariae juxta forum, die Veneris, viz. 5° Decembris, et postridie ejus diei vocato coram magistro Thoma Bynge, legum doctore, vice-cancellario, assidentibus praepositis collegiorum, scilicet doctoribus Pearne, Hawford, Kelke, Whitgyfte, Chaderton, Harvie, et Hill, magistris Shepherd, Goade et Aldryche, objectum fuit quod has propositiones in concione sua asseruisset et praedicasset, viz:

1. Isti status, episcopatus, archiepiscopatus, metropolitanatus, denique papatus a Satana in ecclesiam introducti sunt.

2. Inter ministros ecclesiasticos non debet alius alio esse superior.

Et dictus Willelmus Charke coram praedictis vice-cancellario et assidentibus palam et publice agnovit et confessus est se protulisse et praedicasse praedictas propositiones viz, primam directe et alteram implicite, praedictis die, loco, et concione. Et subsequenter facultas et licentia communicandi et conferendi super praemissis cum doctoribus in theologia facta est dicto Willelmo in diem Martis prox. Quo die causa dilata est in diem primum Quadragesimae prox. Et dictus Charke solenniter promisit judicio sisti ad audiendum voluntatem domini vice-cancellarii dicto die, aut duobus diebus antecedentibus aut consequentibus.

The Vice-Chancellor reports the proceedings to the Chancellor in semi-official manner as follows:

(From MS. Lansd. No. 15 Art. 64.)

To the right honorable and my special good lord my lord treasurer.

\* \* \* \* \*

To descend to particular doings; on Fryday was sevensight, being the fifth of this moneth, one Mr Charke, late fellow of Peterhouse, and now chapplaine to my lord Cheynie, preaching as he was appointed, a sermon *ad clerum* among other matters which he then uttered, maintained in his discourse these two conclusions:

1. Episcopatus, archiepiscopatus, metropolitanatus, patriarchatus et papatus, a Satana in ecclesiam introducti sunt.

2. Inter ministros ecclesiae non debet alius alio esse superior.

For the whiche his doctrine, as repugnant to the government of the church of England established, I caused him, as our statutes require, to be called before me and the rest of the headdes, where he being charged with the points aforesayd did earnestly stand to the defence of the same. It was shewid him what daunger would ensue if he so persisted and therefor he was advised to conferre with better learned than himself and to heare their judgments; the whiche that he might doo to his greater profite, wee graunted him a reasonable space, to consider more diligently of his assertions, and

after to yeld up a full resolucion of his mind therein; the time prefixed is Ashe-wednesday next: in the meane while he hath leave to depart. And thus farre have wee hetherto dealt with Chark; meaning (unles your lordships determinacions shalbe otherwise) to procede with him according to our statutes, which bind him either to revoke his opinion or to be expelled thuniversity. [The rest of the letter contains an account of search made for vestments and popish trumpery collected by Dr Caius, the greater part of which were burnt, including books !]

I commend your lordshippe to the Allmightie his tuicion.

From Clare Hall, the 14th of December, 1572. Your lordshippes unworthie deputie ever at commandement.

THO. BYNG.

We return now to Stokys' book under date

5° Febr.

Quibus etc. comparuit Willelmus Charke et iterum interrogatus a domino procancellario de duabus illis propositionibus prius illi objectis et in concione sua habita in ecclesia beatae Marie juxta forum Cantebr 5° Decembr prox. elapso publice declaratis, respondit et fatebatur illas esse ab eo in eadem concione prolatas, priorem videlicet explicite, posteriorem vero implicite; ita tamen intellixisse posteriorem, ut existimet non debere esse aliquam superioritatem in Ministris ecclesiasticis quoad jurisdictionem. Deinde a domino procancellario saepius requisitus monitus et jussus fuit ut easdem propositiones revocare vellet in eodem loco ubi eas docuit proximo videlicet die Dominico, secundo vel tertio; quod ille penitus recusavit: unde dominus procancellarius cum assensu praefectorum collegiorum viz. doctorum Pearne, Hawford, Kelke, May, Chaderton, Harvye et Ithell tunc praesentium, necnon assensu doctoris Whitegyfte, magistrorum Shepherd, Goade, et Aldrich tunc absentium, sed alias, viz. 29 Janu. proxime praeterito committentium voces, suffragia et assensum sua domino vice-cancellario ad finiendum juxta discretionem suam et statuta academiae causam motam contra dominum Willelmum Charke, pronuntiavit dictum Willelmum Charke incidisse in poenam statuti Universitatis praedictae in ea parte facti et ideo excludendus a collegio suo et Universitate exulandum: et sic sententia sua illum a collegio suo exclusum et Universitate expulsum declaravit. A qua sententia dictus Charke appellavit per verbum appello tantum. Cui appellationi non deferendum dominus judicavit, tum quia in confessum lata est sententia, nec ulla causa appellandi fuit pro Charke allegata aut appellationi conjuncta sive apposita, tum quia alias in consimili causa judicatum est appellationi non esse deferendum, quoties sententia feratur per dominum procancellarium cum assensu conjudicum suorum, viz. majoris partis praefectorum collegiorum.

Concordat cum originali. Ita testor,

MATTHEUS STOKYS.

*Notarius publicus.*

The University having thus summarily refused the right of appeal to Chark, the latter wrote to Lord Burghley as follows:

(From MS. Lansd. No. 16, Art. 33.)

To the right honorable the Lord Burleigh, lord highe treasurer and one of her majesties honorable privie counsell.

Academia tua (Cecilie, vir honoratissime) me totidem jam annos aluit, alumnum non ingratum, quot te habuit Anglia primarium reipublicae virum. Nuper vero eadem me, quam ego tum calamitatem primam accepi, publice in exilium ejecit, luctuosum mihi et crimosum nonnihil ecclesiae Dei. Ejus vero causam exilii procancellarius tuus ad te et quidam collegiorum praefecti detulerunt, ut aditus esset ad id, quod, ut illi juste fecerint, ego tamen non dicam injuste sed haud scio an indigne patiar. Nam ut vere tibi et breviter exponam facti conditionisque meae rationem, cum me esse non dissimulo qui, argumentis e Scriptura et externarum ecclesiarum exemplo adductus, aliquid abesse putem, quo ecclesia nostra, nuper e tenebris vindicata, propius ad splendorem *πρωτοτύπου χαρακτήηρος* possit accedere; quod si quando concedet Deus, (concedet autem, ut spero, suo tempore<sup>1</sup>) facilius erit postea eandem sartam tectam (ut dicitur) conservare. Sed hanc opinionem meam et aliorum, cum non ignorem periculose in concionibus coram imperita multitudine promulgari, quia aliquid habet et plebi novum et ab institutis reipublicae alienum, scientiam veritatis mihi reservavi, et ab ejus in concionibus meis promulgatione studiosissime semper abstinui. Caeterum in senatu privato et sermone Latino, majorem me putabam posse libertatem usurpare; ideoque in academia (id est) in doctissimorum et sapientissimorum virorum corona, sententiam meam in ejusmodi rebus liberius explicabam. Quo facto nescius tenebar crimine violatae legis, in iudicium vocatus, qui in causa mea iudices erant ex sanctione legis non solum aquae et ignis mihi usuram interdicebant, quibus vivimus, sed et literarum, quibus bene vivimus. Ego appellabam, et his literis meis supplex appello aequitatem et bonitatem tuam, in quo uno spes mihi relinquatur illius loci recuperandi in quo mihi conceditur tanquam in rerum praestantissimarum mercatura vitam propagare. Cum igitur ad tranquillitatem ecclesiae, in maxima opinionis meae *πληροφορία* semper tacuerim, si illud unum factum excipias; cum statuam deinceps tacere; cum denique levius deliquerim quod Latine sententiam meam dixerim: peto a te ut quem illi *ἀκριβοδικαίως* ejecerint, tu velis *ἐπιεικῶς* quasi jure postliminii restituere; neque cum haec peto, eo pertinet petitio mea, ut auctoritas tua intercedendo illorum factum rescindat, quod tamen potes concedere; sed hoc a te pro incredibili tua erga academiae tuae clientes bonitate peto, ut literis tuis ab academiae praefectis petere velis, ut me restituant, protinus ejiciendum, si vel pacem ecclesiae vel reipublicae vel academiae violavero. Hoc si concedas, qui jam ignominioso Homeri versu dici possim *ἀφρήτωρ, ἀθέμιστος, ἀνέστιος*, recuperata civitate felix me abdam in bibliothecam meam, Deo *καδδύναμιν* et reipublicae dabo operam: te vero, (lectissime cancellarie) quem semper multis nominibus colui, colam deinceps pluribus, et assidue: maxime hac precatiōnis formula ut te Deus patrocinio tueri velit sempiterno. Amen.

Tuus *ὄν τῷ θεῷ* ad omnia paratissimus.

GUL. CHARCUS.

<sup>1</sup> Concessit et concedet, frater Charce.

The following is the reply of the Heads to a letter of enquiry addressed to them concerning Chark.

(MS. Lansd. No. 16, Art. 34.)

To the right honorable and our singuler good lord the lorde Burghlie, lorde threzurar of England, and Chauncellor of thuniversitie of Cambridge.

Our duties in most humble maner to your honour remembryd; your lordship's lettres wrytten in the behalf of Mr Charke have made us all not a litle perplexed; partlye for the boldnes of hym, who in so notorious a faulte, and manifest breach of statute, woulde attempte to procure your lordship's favor; but most of all for that we are herebye brought in some dowbte of your lordships good lykynge of our proceedings in that cause; whereof to rendre a just accompt and that your lordship maye therbie the easelier judge what lenitie hathe been used on our partes towards the said Charke, contrarie to his reporte, as it semyth, may it please your lordship to be advertised of the whole matter from the begynnyng.

First, omitting the great expectacion of many longe before hys sermon, rayسد as maye probably be thought by some speach given out by hym concernyng thoes thynges whereby he would intreate; having also his singuler confidence used in the whole action and utterance of his sermon: even at that tyme when he was called before us, besides the obstinate defending of his errors, he spared not in presence to overthwart divers of the heades in very unseemlie maner, and with taunting wordes. Nevertheless bearyng with his want of discrecion beyonde his desert, and seeking to allure hym by gentle perswasions we thought good he should severallie be comunyd with by three or fower of our companye. After which conference, though they had litle prevailed with hym, yet that he shoulde not thynke hymselfe to streightlie dealt with, we graunted hym more than seven weekes space to consyder throughlie of his groundes, and after good advisement to yeld his aunsysr upon the same; giving hym further to understande howe we could doo none otherwise than the statute required yf he should persiste in his conceyved opinions. At the tyme apointed wee founde hym nothings altered. Howbeit styll wishing his good conformitie and meaning raither to reduce him charitablye, then sodainlye to cut hym of, wee offered that yf he would but onlie promisse, upon better deliberacioun, to revoke his assertions, he should be respected for the performance thereof till after Easter; which for that before us all he utterlie refused to do, it was concluded with one consente, that he should incurre the payne of the statute; that ys to lose both his college and also thuniversitie; now yf this punishment had been enjoyned hym onlie by our arbitrements and not by statute, yet his demerites being such, as we have declared and he cannot denie, he could not justlie have complained of over much severitie. But seeing we have doon nothyng of any private consyderacion in this cause, but our sentence hath been wholie directed by her majesties Statutes, delivered unto us, as a rule to guyde us, and wherewith to dispense is utterlie forbidden us, we muche muse what colour of defence he can seeme to pretende. And suerlye how necessarie it ys that we have suche statutes and namelie

that one concerning preachers<sup>1</sup>, the malice of theas times dothe easelie shewe. For since Charke hath broched theis untimelie contentions, others have ventured to contynewe the same, wherby the myndes of some are so incensed, that in manye colledges they studie and devise onliè how to moleste and disquiet their governours; their drifte as it ys well knowen, being nothyng els but to procure to themselves a licentious libertie; wherein yf they may fynde favour through their importune sutes, our state is most miserable of all other<sup>2</sup>. What poyson lyeth hyd in popularitie can not be unknowen to your singular wisdom. Owr labors and travayles in suppressing the same must nedes be joyned with occasions of great envy, which we shall never be able to resiste, unless we be supported by your lordships auctoritie, and others that are placed in the chiefest roumes<sup>3</sup>, speciallie when the difference consisteth in this, whether we shall be borne with for executyng our lawes, or other by indulgence incoraged which breake the same. And yet for Charke, we have further to report that after the delyvery of your lordships lettres, being agayne demanded whether he would yet promisse to retract his former doctrine, he would in no wise yeld thereunto, but made the like refusal as before, adding that he thought your lordships meanyng was not to have hym recante. Wherein as your lordship may well perceave his great presumption, so did he nothyng deceyve the expectacion of some of us who have noted in hym the like hawtee stomake ever sythens we first knewe hym. Thus having dissembled nothyng, but playnlie laid furth the case as it ys, wee are most humblie to crave your lordshippis favorable assistaunce for the repressing of this and the like enormities wherewith we are so greatly encombered at this present that of force we should faynt, weare we not sustayned with the onlie hope<sup>4</sup> of your lordshipp his good acceptacion and countenancing of our dutifull travailles in that behalfe. Even so praying thalmightie long to preserve your honour to our great comfort and the wealth of this state, we humblie take our leave.

From Cambridge the seconde daye of Marche 1572 your lordshippis ever most humble at commaundement

Tho. Byng Vice-Chancellor	William Chaderton
Andreas Perne	Henr. Harvy
Edward Hawford	Thomas Ithell
Roger Kelk	John Caius
John May	Nicholas Shepperd
John Whytgyfte	

The Heads having thus set aside with wounded dignity the suggestions of the Chancellor, Chark wrote him the following charming farewell epistle;

<sup>1</sup> For how shall they preach, except there be statutes? just the question at issue.

<sup>2</sup> Apparently a reference to 1 Cor. c. xv.

<sup>3</sup> The 'chiefest roumes' happens to be

<sup>4</sup> Apparently a somewhat free translation from one of the Psalms.



Mr Charke to Lord Burghley.

(From MS. Lansd. No. 16, Art. 35.)

To the right honorable the Lord Burley, highe treasurerour of England, and of hir majesties most honorable privie councill.

Quid auctoritate literarum tuarum apud academiae tuae praesides profecerim, (honoratissime vir) hi opinor literis suis significarunt: ego autem plane non sine maxima studiorum meorum jactura persentisco. Nam, ne quid gravius dicam, qui in accusationibus levissimus debeam dicere, illi nova et inaudita auctoritatis suae interpretatione indictam et sex ad minimum dies admissam appellationem meam, postea affirmabant omnino esse ἀπροσδιόνυσον quia etsi a sententia procancellarii liceat, non liceat tamen a decreto praefectorum appellare. Hac sententia auctoritate sua appellationis et jure et beneficio me privari putabant; idque non in mea tantum, sed et in aliorum deinceps causa quasi legitimum sit, solenni suo ψηφίσματι decreverunt. Ego certe quid in hac recutiendum sit, homo in causis forensibus plane hospes, non intelligo; injuriam et praerogativae tuae minutionem nonnihilo suspicor. Sed in petitione mea et literarum tuarum quod repulsam tulerim, eorum factum est pertinacia, tibi nihilominus (clarissime et lectissime domine) quod causam meam susceperis, gratias ago semperque quoad vixero agam maximas, idque non meo solum, sed et multorum praeterea optimorum virosum nomine, qui te habent in causa sua, quae temporum injuria vim patitur, faciliorem. Quod reliquum est me tibi causamque meam trado; qua si amissam civitatem et intermissa studia recuperavero, me novo beneficio adjicies ad eorum numerum qui amplissimis tuis beneficiis viventes ac vigentes, praeter laudum tuarum praedicationem, a deo praeterea petunt quotidie, ut pro immensa misericordia sua te conservare velit, quo uno respublica nititur maxime, atque ut nitatur diutissime bonorum firmamentum concedat Deus. Amen.

Honoris tui studiosissimus alumnus

GUL. CHARCUS.

And so ended this petty academical persecution. Of Chark's after life we know comparatively little. He obtained, I believe, besides or instead of the Chaplaincy referred to by the heads, some positions of religious trust such as the office of preacher at Lincoln's Inn. Not long after his expulsion, his ardent defence of what he held to be the true Christian doctrine entangled him in a curious controversy, from the account of which we gather a little more information as to the manner of life which then characterized a preacher of somewhat Puritan views.

Edmund Campian the Jesuit had circulated a polemical tract in defence of his Church and its polity, accompanied by an offer of disputation of some kind or other, which was taken hold of by

two ministers, one of them being Meredith Hanmer and the other our friend William Charke.

Charke's book is entitled as follows: "An answer to a seditious pamphlet lately cast abroad by a Jesuite (E.C.) etc." Lond. 1580.

Apparently this produced a reply from Campian entitled "A Brief Censure upon two bookes in answer to an offer of disputation." Hereupon Charke wrote "A Replie to a censure against the two answers to a Jesuites seditious pamphlet," Lond. Barker, 1581 (some copies 1582): while Meredith Hanmer followed suit with "The Jesuites Banner...with a confutation of a late pamphlet secretly imprinted and entitled: A Brief Censure upon two bookes written in answeare to Mr Campian's offer of Disputation. Compiled by Meredith Hanmer M. of Arts and Student in Divinity; London, Thomas Dawson and William Vernon and to be solde in Paule's Churchyard at the brazen serpent, 1581." Campian meanwhile was thrown into the Tower on a charge of high-treason and Charke with six other divines were sent to hold with him the disputation he had desired.

These books produced a rejoinder from another Jesuit, Robert Parsons<sup>1</sup>, who took up the defence of his friend, who had in the meantime gone from this world by the exit-door of the rack and of martyrdom. It is entitled, "A defence to the censure given upon two books of Will. Charke and Meredith Hanmer ministers which they wrote against Mr Edmund Campian, Priest of the Society of Jesus, and against his offer of disputation. Printed 1582<sup>2</sup>, taken in hand since the death of Campian." In this book the writer handles Charke very roughly: on the title-page he describes how to decline the noun 'heretic' as follows:

Sing. Nom.	Superbus.
Gen.	Temerarii.
Dat.	Mendaci.
Acc.	Pertinacem.
Voc.	Seditiose.
Ablat.	Atheo vel Libertino.

Plur. Hi et hae impudentes per omnes casus.

From which it will be seen that Master Parsons was in "excellent fooling" at the time. Further in a letter to Charke printed

<sup>1</sup> Wood's *Athenae*, I. 306.

<sup>2</sup> At Douay?

at the beginning, he charges him with indecent behaviour at Campian's funeral, which I sincerely hope was not true: "how finallie you made hym (Campian) away by cruell death without any shew or shadow of particular crime committed by him, against prince or countrie; and that your selfe (Mr. Charke) as a conqueror of your adversarie, folowed him in person to the place of hys Martyrdome with bigge lookes, sterne countenance, prowde wordes and merciles behayvour."

This book was followed by "An answeare for the time, unto that foule and wicked defence of the censure that was given upon M. Charke's booke and Meredith Hanmer's...now published for the stay of the Christian reader till Maister Charke's Booke come fourth. London, Thomas Dawson and Tobie Smith, 1583." And then comes "A treatise against the defence of the censure &c..." which, if I remember rightly, is Chark's; I cannot be sure of the date but it is printed at Cambridge. There is also a book entitled "A remembrance of the conference had in the tower of London betwixt D. Walker and W. Charke opponents and E. Campion respondent 27 Sepr. 1581...A true report of the disputation had with E. Campian &c." 1583. Concerning all which long entangled reply, censure, defence and disputation, we can only say "Requiescant in pace<sup>1</sup>."

### VII. *Of William Chark's Library.*

It will have been observed that in one of Chark's letters to the Chancellor, he expressed himself as willing to retire somewhat from the burning air of St Mary's church into the cool and sylvan solitudes of his own library. He seems to have been at this time possessed of a collection which he prized. And it is interesting to know that it is possible to reconstruct quite a library of Greek and Latin MSS. which were formerly in his hands. In addition to

<sup>1</sup> The following references should be taken for the Chark persecution :

Strype, <i>Annals of Reformation</i> , II. 312,	} all quoted in Cooper, <i>Athenae Cant.</i> II. 312.
„ <i>Life of Parker</i> , IV. c. 18,	
„ <i>Life of Whitgift</i> , I. c. VII. App. No. XI.,	
<i>Sequel to French's Trial</i> , II. 143,	
Howell's <i>State Trials</i> , XXII. 701,	

the Leicester Codex and the Montfort Codex, we have the following, all of which are in the British Museum :

Mus. Britt. *Titus*, D. 1, containing xxxvii. articles of Wycliffe in English. On the first page, "*sum gul. charci*" 1575, *i.e.* three years after the expulsion. No note is to be found indicating from whence he obtained the book. But there are signs that he studied it carefully, in the shape of marginal notes written in his beautiful Greek hand drawing attention to some important passage or making a criticism upon it. Indeed some parts of the book are so much in Chark's line that, but for the date given above, I should assume that he had been studying it not long before he preached the fatal sermon. Thus we find that on fol. 28 b, Chark has set on the margin the word ὄρα against the passage in which Wycliffe attacks avaricious popes and cardinals, "thanne he is a symonient and eretyk and a cursed anticrist and a sone of perdition, &c."

On f. 33, Chark has written on the margin ἐποχή against the following passage: "for the hethene men ben manie mo thousandis than cristene and ben richere and betere men of werre."

The concluding words of the book are described on the margin as προσευχή.

The next is *Cleop.* A. 8, and contains

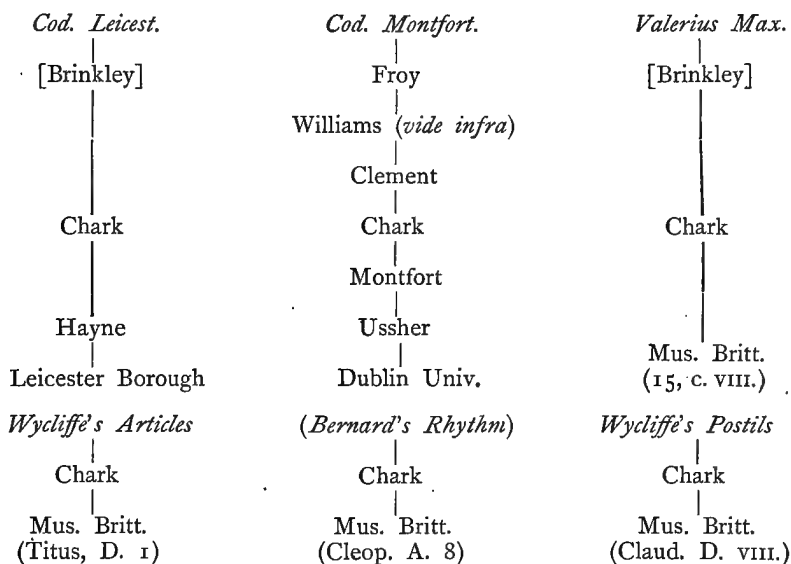
Epigramma in paparum nomina.  
The Rhythm of Bernard of Morlaix etc.

At the beginning the note "*Sum Guil. Charci.*" Occasionally passages are underlined, and sometimes a Greek abbreviation is found on the margin to express the reader's opinion, e.g. καλῶς.

The third is *Claud.* D. viii., and contains the Statutes of the University of Oxford, bound up with the Postils of John Wiclif. Only the latter part, I think, belonged to Chark. On its first leaf stands "*Sum Guil. Charci 3l.*," which I take to be the price that he paid for the book. We may evidently regard Chark as a true disciple of Wycliffe.

The fourth is Mus. Britt. 15, C. viii. A beautiful MS. of Valerius Maximus, referred in the catalogue to the fifteenth century. On the first leaf is "*Sum Guil. Charci.*" And it is of great interest

to us from the fact that it has preserved the same mixed paper-vellum arrangement as in the Leicester Codex, three leaves of paper between two of vellum forming the quire (of ten leaves when doubled over). Further there are catch-words from quire to quire. This arrangement is so unusual that where we find two such MSS. of special type in a transitional period, in the possession of the same person, we are entitled to assume that they came from the same manufactory. For this reason I refer the Valerius Maximus to a common origin with the Leicester Codex and the Caius Psalter. And the ground of this is that between one pair there is a common early structure of book-building and a common late owner, and between another pair a common hand-writing. Accordingly we should add the Valerius Maximus to the Franciscan-Brinkley collection, and then the three MSS. will go back beyond Brinkley to a common origin and place. We have now completed our Chark-collection as follows :



Before we go into further enquiries with regard to the three MSS. supposed to have had a common origin, we make a few remarks with regard to the Montfort Codex.

VIII. *Of the Montfort Codex.*

This MS. is not likely to help us a great deal in our enquiry on account of its being so late in date. But it is interesting to know that there are reasons for assigning to it also a Franciscan origin. If we can establish this point, the known connexion of the codex with the Leicester MS., through the common ownership of Chark and the similarity of text in the Apocalypse between the two, becomes easily intelligible. And the study of the origin of the Montfort Codex in other parts of the New Testament will probably confirm this (*i.e.* if Dobbin is right in certain speculations as to the copying of Montfort from Oxford codices, I should expect to find that these codices were also Franciscan). But leaving this on one side, as a point which I have not been able to investigate, we have the good fortune to know the names probably of nearly every person through whose hands the MS. has passed. It is true that the leaf containing the names of the owners has disappeared from the MS.: but we have Walton's note, among others, that it originally belonged to one Froy, a Franciscan friar, then to Thomas Clement, afterwards to William Chark, and lastly to Thomas Montfort<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> With regard to Walton's note, however, we have a question raised by Dr Barrett in his *Collatio Cod. Montfort.* p. 2. He says that the note in the MS. is as follows:

"Sum Thomae Clementis, olim fratris Froyhe."

Therefore if Walton is right that Froyhe was a Franciscan, he must have obtained that information from sources unknown to us. If, however, Barrett throws some doubt in this way on the statement that Froyhe was a Franciscan, he establishes the conclusion in another way, by finding in the MS. the name of one Williams, of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and notes in his handwriting; and he shews from Wood's *Fasti* that this Williams took his degree as doctor of divinity about the year 1521, that his name at length is David Williams, and that *he was a Franciscan*. Now if this be so, it follows al-

most to a certainty that the other Friar who owned the book, or, which is much the same thing, disposed of it, was also a Franciscan. So that Dr Barrett's remarks really supply the needed demonstration, and at the same time add one more to the list of owners. Perhaps we ought to use the last word cautiously. If we assumed the MS. to have passed from Williams to Froy, this would meet most exactly the spirit of the inscription, by which Froy appears as owner before Clement: but when we reflect that Williams was of the same college with Clement and at the same time, it seems more reasonable to suppose that he obtained the book for Clement from Froy, and this would make Froy the earlier possessor. In any case the Montfort Codex now enjoys the repute among MSS. of having probably every one of its owners known.

Now the first thing to notice is that the ownership of the book by Thomas Clement (which we shall shew reason presently for correcting to John Clement) takes us back probably nearly to the year 1520, when he was Greek Professor at Oxford, and we have not therefore very much time to give the book into earlier hands, since it is one of the most modern (as well as most famous) of all MSS. of the New Testament. I conclude therefore that it is very unlikely to have had many owners before Clement; and the owners are accordingly to be found among the Franciscan monks. If owners, then probably one of them is also writer.

This being the case we have a Franciscan origin for the Montfort Codex as well as the Leicester MS., which is the point that we wanted to prove. But the matter does not stop there. For we can, I think, actually identify the Froy of whom Mill speaks: and I cannot but think that we have here an accidental repetition of a letter on the inscription of ownership according to which 'fratris Roye' has become 'fratris Froye.' Roy is well known: in some respects he is one of the most remarkable figures of the Reformation. His history is as chequered as his genius is versatile. He was educated in the University of Cambridge, and became shortly after a friar of the Greenwich Observants; *i.e.* he attached himself to one of the branches of the Franciscan order in England<sup>1</sup>. But he forsook his convent, and in 1524 joined himself to Tyndal at Hamburgh, whose amanuensis he became, and with whom he continued for some time, until differences arose between them. Hereupon Roy went to Strasburg, where he wrote the famous satire upon Wolsey and the clergy, "Rede me and be not wroth," as well as a book against the seven sacraments. He suffered martyrdom in 1531 in Portugal, apparently on a charge of heresy. Some idea of the man's talents and versatility may be gathered from Tyndale's own language concerning him, which does not disguise the abilities which Roy possessed, however much it sets his character in an unfavourable light. "One William Roye, a man somewhat craftye when he cometh into new acquayntance and before he is thorou known, and namely when all is spent, came unto

<sup>1</sup> See Cooper's *Athenae*, I. 44, and authorities quoted. Is it *à priori* likely that at the same date there would be in the same religious order both a Froy and a Roy?

me and offered his help. As long as he had no money, somewhat I could rule hym: but as soone as he had gotten hym money, he became lyke hymselfe againe. He went and got hym new friends, whiche thinge to do, he passeth all that ever I knewe. His tunge is able not only to make fooles starke mad, but also to deceyve the wisest that is, at the firste acquaintance."

This then (according to the best speculation we can make) was the man who wrote the Codex Montfortianus, or at all events was its owner at a time extremely close to that when it must have been written. For Roy had ceased to be a Franciscan by 1524, and the Montfort Codex makes its appearance in history between the second and third editions of Erasmus; *i.e.* between 1519 and 1522; nor can the Codex Britannicus, as Erasmus called it, be very many years earlier, if earlier at all, than this period. I believe, therefore, that for the main part of the codex, including the forgery in 1 John v. 7, Roy is responsible.

Let us ask ourselves whether there was anything in the atmosphere of the Franciscan order that favoured or suggested the production of such a MS. for polemical purposes. In the first place remember that Ximenes, the father of the Complutensian Polyglot, was regarded as the leading man in the Franciscan order, and every attack upon Erasmus is therefore a Franciscan defence. When the controversy over the Three Heavenly Witnesses began to wax warm, it was from the Franciscans of Antwerp that a copy of the New Testament was produced containing on the margin the disputed verse. This was sent apparently to Erasmus, who remarks somewhat sarcastically upon the modern hand in which the passage was written as follows: "In codice qui mihi suppeditatus est e bibliotheca Minoritarum Antwerpiae in margine scholium erat ascriptum de testimonio Patris Verbi et Spiritus sed manu recentiore ut consentaneum sit hoc adjectum *ab erudito quopiam qui noluerit hanc particulam praetermitti.*" Remark, in the next place, that the immediate predecessor of Brinkley, as provincial minister of the order in England, was Henry Standish, of whom the main thing that is remembered in the Franciscan monuments is his hostility to the version of the New Testament made by Erasmus, by which I understand the text and anno-



tations and Erasmian critical work generally. So strong was this antagonism that some authorities go so far as to say that he made it a subject of daily discourse to hurl anathemas at Erasmus. Now this is precisely the atmosphere to produce such a forgery as the Montfort Codex contains, Standish was just the man to inspire it, and Roy the very person to carry it out. Nor is this argument affected, so far as the Franciscans are concerned, if our conjecture concerning Roy be false.

I subjoin the authorities for the foregoing statements with regard to Standish :

“*Supplementum Historiae Provinciae Angliae.*” Duaci, 1671.

No. 48. Henricus Standish, Doct. Cantab. ep. Asaphensis, 1520. *Egregie scripsit contra Erasmi versionem Novi Testamenti.*

Wadding. *Scriptores Ord. Min.* Syllabus, 167.

“Henricus Standicius, Anglus, S. T. D. et tandem episcopus Asaphensis, vir pietate et doctrina clarus, Catholicae religionis strenuus propugnator, omniumque haeresium juratus hostis, in suis concionibus haeticorum argumenta et errores nervose refutare solebat: et *inter alios Erasmus Roterodamum* temerariae doctrinae nominatim aliquando arguebat. Pauca tamen eius scripta reperio, licet eum plura scripsisse constat. Hos saltem operum titulos Willotus recenset.

Sermones ad populum, librum unum. Contra versionem novi testamenti factam per Erasmus, lib. unum.

Londini mortuus et sepultus est in bona senectute, circa annum 1520.”

The date of his death is evidently a misunderstanding, as it is given 1534 in Wadding, Tom. xx. p. 340. The note is as follows :

Henricus Standicius = Min. conv. sac. Theolog. mag. et oxonien. Universitatis Doctor de quo plura inter lites quasdam selectiores a Roberto Keibrey an. 1602 Londini publicatas. Anno 1508 erat Angliae provinciae minister...

Scripsit etiam De matrimonio Catharinae Reginae cum Henrico VIII<sup>o</sup> non dissolvendo, teste Sanders de schism. Anglic. lib. 1, apud Spondanum in continuat. anal. Eccles. ad an. 1529 num. 7.

Factus est autem Epis. Asaphensis in Anglia an. 1518 ex Reg. Pontif. seditque annos 16 ex catalogo antistitum illius Ecclesiae: obiit igitur an. 1534 quod quidem teterrima in Anglia haeresis et schisma incoepit. Hic idem *cum in Erasmus calamum strinxisset* ab ipso in scenam inductus legitur, aut Joannes ejus nepos, adag. 96.

Bale, *De Script. Britann.* p. 76, gives the same account of his Erasmian antipathies with perhaps a little Protestant exaggeration :

Henricus Standicius, minorita et asaphensis episcopus *in quotidiana concione plura contra Coletum et Erasmus blateravit* et semel coram rege et regina in genua procubuit. Et collaudatis primo eorum majoribus quod semper ecclesiam aduersus haereticos ac schismaticos defendissent, hortatus imo per omnia sacra obtestatus est eos, ut pergerent suorum progenitorum esse similes, alioque deploratam fore Christi religionem. Jussus ut indicaret quae essent haereses exitiales unde metueret: rem porrecturus in digitos, Primum inquit Erasmus tollit resurrectionem, deinde nihili facit matrimonium, postremo de Eucharistia male sentit. Et cum ad probationes ventum esset, pro Corinthios protulit Colossenses: "omnes quidem resurgemus &c." risumque peperit multis. Edidit inutilis artifex

Sermones ad vulgum lib. 1.

Contra versiones Erasmi lib. 1.

et similes nugas. Claruit delirus senex anno Christo nato 1520. Londini tandem sepultus.

The foregoing statement of Bale is interesting since it shews that the attack was made upon Erasmus' doctrine through his text, the disputed passage being 1 Cor. xv. 51 in which the Vulgate and many old Latin copies read πάντες ἀναστησόμεθα (resurgemus) for the πάντες [οὐ] κοιμηθισόμεθα of the Greek copies. This presumably novel Greek reading, according to Standish, undermined the doctrine of the resurrection. This becomes more clear when we turn to the Annotations of Erasmus on the passage in which he refers directly to his critics:

Vides optime lector quam hic nihil sit quod in me debeat reprehendi. Nam quod sequor eam lectionem quae sola nunc habetur in libris Graecorum, quum Graeca vertam, non licuit secus facere. Et tamen ex hoc loco *duo quidam*, tanti theologi, ut sibi persuaserint semel ruituram universam ecclesiam, nisi eam suis humeris fulcirent, alter episcopi quoque dignitate praefulgens, uterque professor eius religionis, quae baptismi professionem pene reddidit irreligiosam, atrocem calumniam mihi struxerunt<sup>1</sup>. Alter *in corona frequenti nobilium et eruditorum hominum apud summos principes, impexit, quod tollerem resurrectionem*, propterea quod concederem non asseverarem, *aliquos in adventu domini non morituros*. Alter in publica et ordinaria professione impexit haeresim, quod inducerem lectionem contradictoriam ei quam sequitur ecclesia.

The two writers whom Erasmus here repels (I quote from the Annotations affixed to the fifth edition) are evidently Lee and Standish. After he has despatched their arguments he addresses their persons in the following lively tone:

<sup>1</sup> Ought we to correct this to "calamum mihi strinxerunt" in accordance with Wadding?

Amant πρωτοκαθεδρίας in scholis, gaudent iisdem in opiparis conviviis, amant salutari Rabbini, venantur *mitras et abbatias*, et adulantes hominibus adulterant sermonem dei, suisque traditiunculis obruunt scintillam charitatis evangelicæ ;

the words which we have italicised being peculiarly *ad hominem*.

The other references which Standish is said to have made in his demonstration of Erasmian heresy may be illustrated in a similar manner. His wrong belief with regard to the Eucharist is probably a reference to the notes on 1 Cor. xi.: while the matrimony-dissolving doctrine may equally be referred to the same epistle, c. vii. 1, where Erasmus translates, "Bonum est homini uxorem non attingere." Stunica makes the same complaint, demanding that the old translation *mulierem* be retained. At all events it is perfectly clear from what precedes that Standish was one of the leading English opponents of the Erasmian text.

It would be interesting, therefore, to find Standish's MS. against Erasmus, which I do not think has been published, and to examine whether there is any special animus displayed in the matter of 1 John v. 7. This I have not yet succeeded in doing, though I have, I believe, found the book which Bale describes as "Sermones ad vulgum." For unless I am mistaken (unfortunately the limited time that I have been able to give to the point has prevented a very complete enquiry) this must be the book, Mus. Britt. 8 E. III., Liber sermonum sive lectionum super Evangelium. It has the name of John Standishe and the date 1532 on the first leaf. Also the name of Arundel Lumley. At the end there is the note, "John Gyfford de Stansted me possidet." This codex also is mixed paper and vellum, the arrangement being very simple, a double paper leaf inside a double vellum leaf if I remember rightly, and the paper being water-marked on page 12 with a pair of scales in a circle<sup>1</sup>. Elsewhere, I think, it will be

<sup>1</sup> The following are instances of the occurrence of these water-marks:

Pair of scales : Chamberlain's accounts for borough of Lynn in the year 1416.  
 " " In Bordeaux documents for the year 1412.  
 " " Paston letters for the reign of Henry VI.: 1422—1460.

Pair of scales } on paper of the reign of  
 in circle } Henry VI.  
 " " } I have noted it also in  
 a Greek Lectionary  
 brought 50 years ago  
 from Chanea in Crete,  
 and now in the posses-  
 sion of Prof. Benton of  
 Newark, Delaware.  
 " " } is also found amongst Jan-

found to have a crown or a rising sun or something of the sort. The book then shews the genealogy :

Henry Standish  
|  
John Standish  
|  
John Gyfford of Stanstead in Essex  
|  
Lumley Library  
|  
British Museum.

This book might be worth examining, if one were on the British Museum side of the Atlantic<sup>1</sup>.

With the exception of the verification, or, if necessary, re-determination of the codices used by the writer or writers of the Montfort Codex, we may now say that the history of the MS. is pretty completely known. There is no water-mark, as I am informed, in the paper of the MS. It may be of interest to subjoin the result of enquiries made with regard to Thomas Clement, through whom the Montfort Codex passed on its way from Roy, or Froy, to Chark; we have no means of determining whether

sen's collection of water-marks several times in the latter part of the fifteenth century, but the dates of these are not easy to identify, *e.g.* Nos. 258, 263, 264, 278, 279.

The rising sun with IHS in the centre is found in the Paston letters during the reign of Henry VI., and I note it also in a document of the reign of Edward IV. year 1416.

On the whole, these furnish a date a little too early for Henry Standish to have preached the sermons and written the MS. On the other hand a mistake may have been made by the writer from whom Bale took the reference in consequence of the occurrence of Standish's name in the book, for so many of the titles in Bale and other writers of the same school go back to the Lumley library, to which the book in question for-

merly belonged. The point is not however of any moment to our enquiry.

<sup>1</sup> From the foregoing I think it will be evident that Cooper must be wrong in affirming (*Athenae Cantab.* i. 55) that Standish was not an author. The following references of Cooper will be useful in further enquiries. Richardson's *Godwin*, Burnet's *Hist. Reform.*, Wood's *Athenae Oxon.* (ed. Bliss i. 92), *Greyfriars' Chron.* 31. 34, Tanner's *Bib. Brit.*, Ellis's *Letters* (3) i. 187, Fuller's *Worthies*, Fiddes's *Wolsey* 155, Knight's *Erasmus*, Rymer XIV. 12, Le Neve's *Fasti*, Hall's *Chron.* 705, 756, Dodd's *Ch. Hist.* i. 186, MS. Richardson 8, Willis' *St Asaph*. To which add for account of John Standish, MS. Corp. Christ. Oxon. CCCVIII. f. 44. Cooper notes the ancient Lancashire settlement of the Standish family, the fact of his studying at the two English Universities, his becoming warden of the London convent before being provincial of the order, where he was also buried; the date of his death is given by Cooper as July 9, 1535.

Roy left the MS. among the Franciscans, or disposed of it, and it is very little use guessing at such points as whether Clement ever owned any other of the MSS. which we have been discussing; but without any such speculation, we can give the leading facts in the history of this learned man and reconstruct a portion of his library.

#### IX. *Of John Clement and his books.*

There is a little complication which I have not been able wholly to unravel, between Thomas Clement and John Clement, although there is good ground, as will be shewn presently from an Oxford MS., for referring the confusion to a misunderstood abbreviation. We find the authorities sometimes giving the name one way and sometimes another and sometimes (*e.g.* Pitseus) as if they were two separate personages with experiences so similar as to be absurd. I give the name as John Clement on the faith of Antony Wood and other authorities such as the roll-book of the Royal College of Physicians which makes frequent reference to Clement as John. John Clement, then, was born in Yorkshire as is supposed and studied at the University of Oxford, where he seems to have successfully combined a zeal for the new learning with a devotion to the old religion at a time when Greek and Catholicism were not walking arm in arm.

From Oxford he passed into the family of Sir Thomas More as tutor to his children, amongst whom is to be reckoned an adopted daughter of the name of Margaret who returned to Clement in affection what she took from him in Greek, and of whose combined wifeliness and wit he speaks in affecting terms after her death.

In 1519 he returned to Oxford and settled in Corpus Christi College, having been appointed by Wolsey his Rhetoric reader, a position from which he speedily climbed to the Regius Professorship of Greek. Some idea of his popularity may be gathered from the language of Sir Thomas More concerning him; "*Clemens meus Oxonii profitetur, auditoris tanto quanto non ante quispiam. Mirum est quam placeat et deametur universis. Quibus bonae literae propemodum sunt invisae tamen illum charum habent, audiunt*

et paulatim mitescunt." Translation seems to have been his forte, if we may judge from the summary of his work given in Wood's *Athenae* which includes the epistles of Gregory of Nazianzum, the Homilies of Nicephorus Calixtus, the epistles of Pope Celestin the first to Cyril bishop of Alexandria, together with a volume "epigrammatum et aliorum carminum." He held the office, however, but a short time, for we find that in 1521 or 1522 he had resigned his position in order to devote himself to medicine, and Lupset had been appointed in his room<sup>1</sup>.

The rest of his history can be gathered best from the Annals of the Royal College of Physicians. On Feb. 1, 1528, Clement was elected a Fellow, on the 16th of April following an Elector, and was one of the Physicians sent by Henry VIII. to Wolsey, when he lay languishing at Esher in 1528. His later life was affected by the changes in the ruling religion; he was in exile during a part of Edward VI.'s reign, apparently at Louvain. Thus we find under date 1551 the following notice, "Postridie Divi Thomae apost. electus est in numerum electorum Tho. Huys vice doctissimi viri *Ioannis* Clementis doctoris Lovanii peregrinantis religionis gratia." But on the 19th of March 1554 we find him re-admitted (Mary being now on the throne) among the Electors of the College. "Quo tempore in comitiis primo post reditum Louvainio apparuit *Ioannes* Clemens, doctor et elector, cujus reditu fortuna effectum est ut sint electores novem."

In 1555 we find a note which shews that old age was beginning to 'claw him in its clutch'; "Io. Clementi doctori data facultas ut pro arbitrio accedat ad Collegium tum propter senectutem tum propter adversam valetudinem, nisi cum electio Praesidentis aut gravis aliqua causa aut honor Collegii postulat."

On the accession of Elizabeth he again retired into foreign life, and does not seem to have ever returned.

It is curious that two, if not three of the possessors of the Montfort Codex should have had remarkable persecution to face on account of their religion, Clement as a Catholic, Chark as a Puritan, and Roy as a Protestant (though of what type we hardly know).

<sup>1</sup> See a letter of More's "successit enim Clementi meo, nam is se totum addixit rei medicae."

In 1569 or previously Clement gave his assistance towards the Polyglot of Arias Montanus, by lending him a copy of the Pentateuch which had belonged to Sir Thomas More, and which Montanus notes in his preface in the following terms: "Est etiam nobis a Clemente Anglo, Philosophiae et Medicinae doctore, qui in hisce regionibus propter Christianam religionem exulat, exhibitum Pentateuchi Graeci, ex Thomae Mori Bibliotheca, elegantissimum exemplar." This copy will be described more at length presently. On July 1, 1572, he died in the Blocstrate, St John's parish, Mechlin, and was buried the following day in the Cathedral Church of St Rumbold's.

After the Codex Montfort, the following MSS. are known to have been in his hands.

The Pentateuch already alluded to, more exactly to be described as the Glasgow Octateuch: the MS. has been at Glasgow in the University Library certainly since the time when it was there collated for the Holmes and Parsons edition of the LXX. It appears from a minute of the Senate of Glasgow University to have come to them through Foulis the printer; but a note in the book shews that Clement gave it to his own College at Oxford. This note is near the top of the first page and runs thus: "*Ioannes* Clemens medicus dedit Collegio Corpor. Chri. Oxon̄ ut oret pro fidelibus defunctis, A<sup>o</sup>.D. 1563 Octobr. 7." From this note it would seem as if Arias Montanus must have had the use of the book at least six years before the publication of his polyglot. There are other notes on the page which have either been cut by the binder, or are otherwise unintelligible<sup>1</sup>. The MS. is written on cotton-paper.

Besides this, Clement possessed a MS., now in the library of Magdalen College, Oxford, and described in Coxe's Catalogue as follows:

"Cod. XVI. Codex partim membranaceus et partim chartaceus, sec. xv. olim peculium Thomae Clementis."

A collection of questiones philosophicae: amongst them Tract. distinctionum alias formalitatum Petri Thomae Ord. Minorum.

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted for my knowledge of these points to my friend Alexander Blacklock of Glasgow University and Professor Dickson. I have not yet had the pleasure of seeing the MS.

Mr Wilson, the librarian of the College, has kindly given me the order of the leaves in the codex, as follows: a quire of six leaves (doubled into twelve) in the order VPPVPV: one of the most eccentric arrangements I have seen. He also remarks that he is "not quite sure that Thomas should not be Ihoannes." This explains the confusion that has arisen in Clement's name.

The Clement Library is now as follows:

<i>Montfort Codex</i>	<i>Glasgow Octateuch</i>	<i>Quest. Philos.</i>
Roy	More	Clement
Williams	Clement	Magd. Coll. Oxon.
Clement	Corp. Christi, Oxon.	
Chark &c.	Glasgow Univ.	

#### X. *Further notes on vellum-paper codices.*

It will be necessary now to ask the question whether there are any directions in which we may extend our enquiries as to the origin of the three MSS. which we have shewn reason for grouping together as being of approximately the same time and place of production. At present I see nothing that is likely to add to our knowledge of the Caius Psalter. The other two MSS. invite enquiry in two directions: first, as to whether their vellum-paper arrangement is a local peculiarity, second whether their watermarks can be identified. And although I am not by any means sanguine (especially being now so far out of reach of large collections of early books as I am) of arriving at the complete solution of the two points, I will set down such information as I have been able to acquire.

The arrangement of the quires in vellum-paper MSS. has not yet received the attention it deserves. I think it will be found that in general there are two types, one in which the leaves are equal in number from each material, another in which a number of leaves of paper are laid between two leaves of vellum and doubled to form a quire: so that a quire would be denoted by  $VP^nV + VP^nV$ , where  $n$  is the number of sheets of paper.



Illustrations of this may be seen in the following MSS. :

Camb. Univ. Lib.	Dd. x. 63,	VP <sup>4</sup> V for half-quire.
" " "	Ff. i. 34,	VP <sup>6</sup> V " "
Mus. Brit. <i>Harl.</i>	3161,	VP <sup>5</sup> V " "
		and sometimes VP <sup>4</sup> V.

These are all that I have at present been able to add to the Leicester Codex and Valerius Maximus, which are both of the general type, VP<sup>5</sup>V to the half-quire. Of these three MSS. again two may be suspected to have a common origin, viz. the second and third, for in addition to their singular arrangement they are both water-marked with the 'three summits,' surmounted by a cross, which may be seen in Sotheby, *Principia Typographica* (Paper-marks); p. 58. This water-mark, according to Sotheby, represents the arms of Bohemia, and is frequently found in books printed in Germany and Italy in the 15th century. I am not satisfied yet about the Bohemian arms, but in the present case it is easy to verify the other part of the statement, for the Harleian Codex was written in Bologna, as appears from a note in it. The Codex (it is a copy of Lactantius) is also dated in the year 1427, and it should not be omitted that it has catch-words from quire to quire. Out of the three codices therefore which we are able to compare with the vellum-paper arrangement of the Valerius Maximus and the Leicester Codex, two may be taken to be Italian codices of the fifteenth century. This conclusion is an important one, in case it should be shewn that, with any degree of probability, we are dealing with singularities belonging to a particular time and place.

#### XI. *On early paper-marks.*

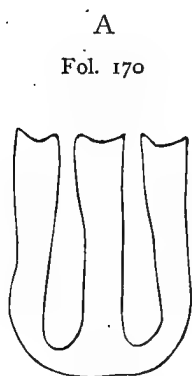
The subject of early paper-marks or, as they are commonly called, water-marks, is still involved in much unnecessary obscurity; and not a few of the attempts which have been made to classify them have made the matter worse confounded by missing the only two points that we want to know in reference to the manufacture of paper, viz. its place and its date. And the mere collection of figures of water-marks, without any information on these points, is comparatively an idle sport. What is wanted to be known is whether

a particular mark belongs to one or more factories, *i.e.* whether it is a private mark, or a government mark, the area over which the manufactured paper is diffused, and the time during which any particular paper-mark is in use. So that the enquiry can hardly be separated from a 'History of the Invention and Manufacture of Paper,' and it is evident from what has been previously said on the subject in these pages, that no distinction occurs between MSS. on paper and printed books. It is especially in reference to paper MSS. that we require further information. For example, there are no less than four different water-marks in the Leicester Codex, three being found in the original manuscript and one on a slip of the paper with which the book has been repaired. It is, perhaps, not too much to say that if an adequate study had been made of these water-marks we could announce at once the district in which the book was written and, within moderate limits, the time of its production, and also throw light upon the place and time of the hand of the repairer.

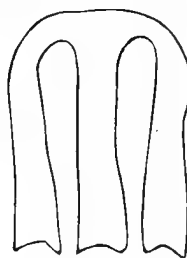
It is surprising that no one has yet undertaken this enquiry, especially as the paper-marks in the Leicester Codex have not altogether escaped the notice of collators. In one page of the MS. the paper is so sensibly indented that it has been marked over with a pencil by some student of the book. This prominent mark is the one which occurs most frequently in the book, the others being either wholly or partly so faint as to defy copying with any degree of certainty. Two of these marks belong to varieties of paper to which the scribe apparently betook himself in despair on finding several sheets of the paper which he was working with to be so faulty that they would not take writing on both sides. What is true as to the practicability of tracing the Leicester Codex by its paper-marks is also true of the Valerius Maximus in the British Museum which I think I have shewn to be a companion volume. For its paper is water-marked throughout on every sheet, I think, with the device of a horse-shoe suspended by a wire; at least this describes it most nearly. But although I have searched many MSS. and early-printed books and collections of paper-marks I have not yet succeeded in identifying it, any more than that of the Leicester MS.

The matter stands thus: from the fact that we have not succeeded in identifying any one of the water-marks amongst the printed books of the fifteenth century accessible to us, nor amongst the water-marks copied from them by collectors, we incline to the belief that the MSS. in question are earlier than the era of printing. And if this be so, and if in the period to which this leads us, we can find no English documents from which a similar water-mark can be extracted, that is, neither is it found in the Lynn records which cover the period of time in question and are sufficiently near to Cambridge to have been supplied from the same paper factory, nor can we trace it in the Paston letters which belong to a large part of the time in debate, and to an adjoining county, supposing the MS. again to have been written by the Cambridge Grey Friars, nor can we find any other similar water-marks amongst English documents, we are almost forced to a suspicion that the paper was of a foreign origin, and so remote in its place of production that it came in as a book and not as an article of merchandise.

The accompanying figures shew the principal water-marks, then, of the Leicester MS., and we must enquire whether there is anything about them that suggests a foreign manufacture. Marking



A  
Fol. 68  
as on Fol. 170 but reversed



them respectively A, B, C we put the repairer's paper C on one side, and there is besides a remaining one which is so hopelessly faint that it is impossible to trace more than a certain number of doubtful lines; B is not much better; we cannot even tell whether we have

got it the right way up. Our enquiry then is shut up to the commonest of the water-marks marked A, which is found sometimes one way up and sometimes another, and with such slight modifications as always occur in the size of the brass figures which produce the paper-marks in the moulds, nearly throughout the book.

Now the first suggestion that seems to be likely is that the figure is a trident, and that it may be a play upon the name of the City of Trent (Tridentum). We know from Braunius, *De Civitatibus orbis terrarum*, that it was a disputed point as to whether the city derived its name from the trident of Neptune, the marks of which were exhibited at a certain spot in the city, or from the three mountain summits visible therefrom. Now if we could infer that this latter conception is the one which we frequently find in fifteenth century paper (which Sotheby, on the other hand, affirms to be the Bohemian arms) we could easily take the step of identifying the Leicester water-mark with the other conception, that of the trident. Unhappily we have no evidence as far as I know as to the establishment of a paper-factory in the city of Trent; if we knew it to have existed there, or if we were sure that the figure was a trident, or if the well-known mark of the three summits could be identified with the city of Trent, all would be comparatively easy. But three strings to one's bow are little better than one when they are all weak<sup>1</sup>.

B

Fol. 64



C

Fol. 42  
on mended leaf

<sup>1</sup> Three summits is the coat of the family of Del Monte di Monte Sansavino (in the province of Arezzo). Three summits surmounted by a tree is the badge of the Tuscan

Another suggestion presents itself. The earliest known Italian paper was manufactured in the district of Ancona; here we are on firm ground; the only question that has ever arisen being whether the paper manufactured was bombycine paper or the more modern linen paper. Further we know from the earliest descriptions of this manufactory<sup>1</sup> that every sheet sent out had an attached mark, a point which settles the question, in my judgment, against silk paper; for I have never yet heard of nor seen a special mark attached to the earlier oriental paper. Last of all we gather from Orlandi, *Notizia delle città d' Italia*, that the device of the city of Ancona is a *rastrello with three teeth*<sup>2</sup>, and it is quite possible that this heraldic figure is what the paper manufacturer has attempted to represent.

Here then we have a perfectly intelligible explanation of the principal paper-mark of the Leicester Codex. The fourth paper-mark is, I suspect, not Italian. It is, however, too faint for us to determine accurately the device. For the convenience of those who are occupied in these and similar researches I have some thoughts of publishing presently a collection of the principal dated water-marks of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

And now to sum up this part of our enquiry: there is reason to believe that before the Leicester Codex came into the possession of the Cambridge Franciscans, it was to be found upon Italian soil; for *there is a suspicion derived from the handwriting, from the vellum-paper arrangement in the quires, and from the paper-mark*, which seems to indicate that it is *an Italian production* not half a century anterior to the invention of printing; but it must be remembered that this conclusion is not of so great a probable weight in the matter of the reasonings upon which it is based as the arguments by which we referred the book to Franciscan hands. If however our conclusion be valid we shall probably some day discover the ancestor of the MS. in some one of the Italian libraries.

city Mont-Alci: cf. Litta, *Famiglie Italiane*. The coat of the city of Catacium also shews three summits under a crown, cf. Ughelli, *Ital. Sac.* ix. 355: and the Marquises of Del Monte S. Maria nell' Umbria shew on their coat six summits in pyramid (Litta, Vol. iv).

<sup>1</sup> See Bartolus, *De Insigniis et Armis*, quoted in Tiraboschi, *Storia della Letter. Ital.* v. 96. Bartolus died in 1359, so that this gives an early date for water-marked paper.

<sup>2</sup> I quote here from memory only, having failed to find a copy of this book.

XII. *On the non-Biblical portions of the Leicester Codex.*

There are several patristic tracts or portions of tracts in the Leicester Codex, which deserve to be printed, if for no other reason, than because they assist us to determine the genealogical relations of groups of MSS. They are as follows:

## F. 159 b. An explanation of the Creed and the Seven Councils.

Πιστεύω εἰς ἓνα θεὸν καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς· οὕτω φρονῶν καὶ διομολογῶν ἀπαρατρέπτως τὴν ἐν τῇ καθολικῇ καὶ ἀποστολικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐφιδρυμένην τε καὶ κηρυσσομένην πίστιν τὰς ἀγίας καὶ οἰκουμενικὰς ἑπτὰ συνόδους ἀποδέχομαι· τὴν μὲν πρώτην, ἅτα (l. ἄγε) δὴ, Ἄρειον καὶ τοὺς ὁμοφρονούντας αὐτῶν (l. αὐτῶ), ἅμα τῆς βδελυκτῆς αὐτῶν κτισματολατρείας, διαρρήξασάν τε καὶ καθελούσαν· τὴν δὲ δευτέραν ὡς τὸν φρενοβλαβῆ Μακεδόνιον τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς χοροστασίας ἐξοστρακίσασάν τε καὶ ἐκτεμοῦσαν, Ἄρειῳ παραπλησίαν τὴν μαϊνίαν ἐκμεμηνότα· ἐν κτίσματι γὰρ οὗτος τὸ πανάγιον καὶ παντοῦργον πνεῦμα τιθῆς (l. τιθεῖς) πνεῦμα κτισματολατρεῖν (l. κτισματολατρεῖν) οὐκ ἠσχύνετο· ἀλλ' ἄγε δὴ· καὶ τὴν τρίτην οὖσαν καθαιρέτην τοῦ δυσσεβοῦς (l. δυσσεβοῦς) Νηστορίου καὶ τῆς αὐτῷ καινοποιηθείσης θεοστυγῶς δεισιδαιμονίας· οὗτος γὰρ τὸν ἀδιαιρέτως καὶ καθ' ὑπόστασιν ἐνωθέντα τῷ θεῷ λόγῳ (l. λόγον) ὀλικὸν (l. ὑλικὸν) ἄνθρωπον τολμηρῶς καὶ ἀφρόνως τῆς θεϊκῆς τοῦ λόγου διασπῶν ὑποστάσεως, ἰδιοὑπόστατον αὐτὸν ἑτεροτολῶγει τε καὶ ἐφανατάζετο· διὸ καὶ ψιλὸν ἄνθρωπον τὸν σαρκὶ ἐπιφανέντα υἱὸν καὶ λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ ὀνειρώξας ἀκολουθῶν ὁ τρισάθλιος καλεῖν τὴν παναγίαν θεοτόκον θεοτόκον κυρίως ἀπηνήσατο· τὴν δὲ τετάρτην, ὡς τὸν δυστυχῆ Εὐτυχῆν καὶ Διόσκορον τὸν ἀλαστόρα καταρρήξασάν [τε] καὶ ἀναθεματίσασαν μετὰ τῆς φαντασιώδους αὐτῶν φρενοβλαβίας καὶ πάσης αὐτῶν τῆς συμμορίας· τὴν γὰρ τοῦ κυρίου σάρκα μὴ εἶναι ἡμῖν ὁμοούσιον ἐληρώδουν· ἀλλ' ἐκ δύο μὲν φύσεων τὴν ἔνωσιν γενέσθαι· εἰς μίαν δὲ μετὰ τὴν ἔνωσιν συναλωθῆναι φύσιν, μηδετέρας ἀποσώζουσαν τὰ ιδιώματα, μήτε τῆς θεϊκῆς μήτε μὴν τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης· καὶ τὴν πέμπτην δὲ ὡς ἐκτεμοῦσαν τε καὶ ἀποτεφρώσασαν τέλειον τὰ ἐπ' ὀλέθρῳ τῶν γεγενηκότων ἀναριπιζόμενα μιὰρὰ δόγματά τε καὶ μνήματα τοῦ δυσσεβοῦς Νηστορίου τοῦ τῆς Βασιλίδος ἀθέως ἱεραρχήσαντος· καὶ Θεοδώρου τοῦ Μοψουεστίας ἀθεώτερον ἐπισκοπιάσαντος, αὐτοὺς τε καὶ πάντας τοὺς τὴν αὐτὴν αὐτοῖς ματαιοφροσύνην (l. ματαιοφροσύνην) ἐκνοσησάντας· οὐ μὴν· ἀλλ' ἄγε δὴ· καὶ ὡς διασπῶσασάν τε καὶ ἐκθερίσασαν Ὀριγένην, Δίδυμον, Εὐάγριον, Ἑλληνοφρονι λογισμῶ καὶ ἀσυνέτῳ γνώμῃ εἰς ἔσχατον βύθον ἀθεότητος ἐκπεπτωκότας· βάθμους γὰρ καὶ ὑποστάσεις θεότητος ἀναπλάσαντες καὶ ψυχῶν προϋπάρξεις καὶ τῆς πρὸς τὸ θεῖον αὐτῶν γενέσεως (cod. γενσεως) ἀπορίας τε καὶ ἀποπτώσεις ἐν ἑαυτοῖς ὑποστήσαντες, εἰς διάφορά τε καὶ πολυειδῆ σώματα μεταγίζοντας ταύτας καὶ μεταβάλλοντες καὶ τέλος κολάσεως καὶ δαιμόνων ἀποκαταστάσεις· τὸ δὴ λεγόμενον ἀπὸ κοιτίας ἐρευνόμενοι ἀθυροστάτως (l. ἀθυροστόμως) ἐμυθολόγησάν τε καὶ κατάσπασαν (l. κατέσπασαν) τοὺς ἀμφὶ Ὀνώριον καὶ Σέργιον καὶ Μακάριον τοὺς τερατολόγους καὶ παράφρονας ἅμα αὐτοῖς καὶ τοὺς τὴν αὐτῶν δυσσέβειαν ἀκρατῶς ἐναπομαξαμένους μετὰ τῆς ἐκφύλου καὶ ἀλλοκότου αὐτῶν πλασματολογίας· ἐν γὰρ θέλημα καὶ μίαν ἐνέργειαν τῷ ἐκ δύο ἀπαρατρέπτων φύσεων πεφυκῶτι χριστῷ τῷ θεῷ ἡμῶν κακῶς οἱ δέιλαιοι ἐπεγράφοντο· ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐν Νικαίᾳ τὸ δεύτερον ἱερὰν καὶ μεγάλην σύνοδον τοὺς εἰκονομάχους καὶ διὰ τοῦτο χριστομάχους καὶ ἁγιοκατηγόρους ἀποσκυβαλίσασάν τε καὶ καταβάλλονσαν· σὺν αὐτοῖς δὲ καὶ τὴν βδελυκτὴν

καὶ Μανιχαϊκὴν αὐτῶν αἵρεσιν· τὸ γὰρ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ὁμοούσιον ἡμῖν ἅγιον σῶμα γράφειν εἰκονικῶς ἐμυσάττοντο, τὸ ἄγραπτον καὶ ἀπερίγραπτον αὐτοῦ καταβακχεύοντες· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μὴ εἶναι ἡμῖν ὁμοούσιον μανικῶς συμπεραίνοντες· ταύτας οὖν τὰς ἀγίας καὶ οἰκουμενικὰς ἑπτὰ συνόδους ἀποδέχομαι, ἀναθεματίζων οὓς ἀνεθεμάτισαν, κατασπαζόμενος δὲ καὶ μεγαλύνων οὓς ἐπευφήμησαν· αὕτη μου ἡ τῆς πίστεως καὶ τῶν εἰς ταύτην ἀνηκόντων καὶ περὶ αὐτὴν ὑφισταμένων ὁμολογία. καὶ ἐν ταύτῃ ἡ ἐλπίς, οὐκ ἔμοι δὲ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶσιν ὅσοις εὐσεβεῖν μεμελέτηται· καὶ τῆς καθαρᾶς καὶ ἀκιβδήλου δόξης τῶν χριστιανῶν θεῖος ἔρωσ προσπέφυκεν ἔχεισθαι.

This is followed by the lives of the Apostles.

Πέτρος καὶ Ἀνδρέας ἀδελφοί, ἐκ πατρὸς Ἰωάννου, μητρὸς δὲ Ἰωανά, ἀπὸ Βηθσαϊδὰ τῆς πόλεως, ἀλιεῖς τὴν τέχνην. καὶ ὁ μὲν Πέτρος γενόμενος πρῶτος ἐπίσκοπος ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ, ἔπειτα καὶ ἐν Ῥώμῃ, τελειοῦται ἐπὶ Νέρωνος σταυρωθεὶς ἐπὶ κεφαλῆς. Ἀνδρέας καὶ Ἰωάννης μαθηταὶ τοῦ προδρόμου. Ἀνδρέας ὁ ἀδελφὸς Πέτρου κηρύξας ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἐν Πάτραις σταυροῦται ὑπὸ τοῦ Αἰγέατου.

Ἰάκωβος καὶ Ἰωάννης ἀδελφοὶ ἐκ πατρὸς Ζεβεδαίου, μητρὸς Ἱεροκλείας ἀπὸ Βηθσαϊδά, ἀλιεῖς· καὶ ὁ μὲν Ἰάκωβος ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ὑπὸ Ἡρωδίου (l. Ἡρώδου) τελειοῦται ξίφει· Ἰωάννης ὁ εὐαγγελιστὴς ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ μεταστέλλεται ἐξήκοντα ὀκτῶ ἔτη τῆς ἀναλήψεως τοῦ κυρίου.

Φίλιππος ἐκ πατρὸς Φιλιάνου, μητρὸς δὲ Σοφίας, ἀπὸ Βηθσαϊδά, ἠνίοχος τὸ ἐπιτήδευμα, ἐν Ἱερσπόλει μαρτυρεῖ.

Θωμᾶς [add ὁ] καὶ Ἰούδας, δίδυμος ὢν μετὰ ἀδελφῆς λεγομένης (cod. λιγωμένης) Λισίας ἐκ πατρὸς Διοφανοῦς, μητρὸς δὲ Ῥώας, ἀπὸ Ἀντιοχείας, ἐν Ἰνδία τῇ Καλαμιτίδι τελειοῦται περιδαρεῖς.

Παρθολομαῖος (l. Βαρθολομαῖος) ἐκ πατρὸς Σωσθένου (cod. Σωσοσθένου), μητρὸς Οὐρανίας, πολιαρίτης (sic) εἶτοι (l. ἦτοι) λάχανα φυτεύων ἐν Ἀρβανῶ πόλει τῆς Ἀρμενίας σταυροῦται.

Θαδδαῖος ὁ καὶ Λευέως ὁ αὐτὸς καὶ Ἰούδας Ἰακώβου λέγεται ἐκ πατρὸς Νεκροφανοῦς, μητρὸς δὲ Σελήνης, Ἰταλικὸς ἐν Ῥεβεντῇ (l. Ῥαβεννῇ) βλεμμίῳ ἀναρτηθεὶς καὶ τοξευθεὶς τελειοῦται.

Ἰάκωβος ὁ τοῦ Ἀλφαίου ἐκ πατρὸς Ἀνδρονος, μητρὸς δὲ Εὐτυχίας ἀπὸ Ἱερᾶς πόλεως λαοζός (l. λαοζόος) τὴν τέχνην ἐν Ἰνδία τῆς βαρβαρικῆς τελειοῦται σιεληλαστός.

Ματθαῖος, ὁ καὶ Λευί, τελώνης τὸ ἐπιτήδευμα, ὁ αὐτὸς καὶ εὐαγγελιστὴς, ἐκ πατρὸς Ῥούκου, μητρὸς δὲ Χεροχίας, ἀπὸ τῆς Γαλιλαίας ἐν Ἡρῇ τῆς Παρθείας τελειοῦται λίθους.

Σίμων ὁ Κανανίτης ὃς καὶ Ζηλωτὴς λέγεται, ἀριστοκλήτου τοῦ κυρίου εἰς τοὺς γάμους, ἐκ πατρὸς Καλλίωνος, μητρὸς δὲ Ἀκμίας ἀπὸ Σαλήμ, σταύρω προσηλωθεὶς.

Ἰουδᾶς Ἰσκαριώτης ἀπελθὼν ἀπήξατο· καὶ ἀντ' αὐτοῦ εἰσῆλθε Ματθίας.

Παῦλος καὶ Μάρκος καὶ Λουκᾶς ἐκ τῶν ὁ· καὶ ὁ μὲν Παῦλος ἀπὸ Ταρσοῦ τῆς Κιλικίας, ἀνατραφεὶς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ὑπὸ Γαμαλιήλ (cod. Γαμαλλήλ), ἀπὸ Ἱερουσαλὴμ μέχρι τοῦ Ἰλλυρικῆς κηρύξας, ἐν Ῥώμῃ τελειοῦται ὑπὸ Νέρωνος ξίφει· ὁ δὲ Μάρκος ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ τελειοῦται.

The foregoing extracts are followed on f. 161 by the limits of the Patriarchates, as follows. As M. l'Abbé Martin attaches a good deal of weight to the occurrence of this document in Cod. 346 and

uses it to emphasise the Calabrian origin of the Ferrar-group, I have given not only the Leicester text, but also the principal readings in the MS. Cod. Ev. 556 = Burdett-Coutts III. 5, and some references to the printed text of Leo the Philosopher, from whom it is derived (Migne, *Patr. Gr.* CVII. col. 329—386). I have only that part of 346 and Leo printed by Martin.

Πρῶτος<sup>1</sup> θρόνος καὶ πρώτη πατριαρχία Ἱεροσολύμων, Ἰακώβου τοῦ ἀδελφοθέου καὶ ἀποστόλου, αὐτόπτου καὶ ὑπηρέτου τοῦ λόγου γενομένου<sup>2</sup>· καὶ μύστου τῶν ἀπορρήτων καὶ ἀθεάτων αὐτοῦ μυστηρίων θεαμάτων, περιέχων πᾶσαν τὴν Παλαιστίνων<sup>3</sup> χώραν ἄχρι Ἀραβίας.

Δεύτερος θρόνος τοῦ ἀποστόλου Πέτρου ἀπὸ Ῥώμης μέχρι τῶν<sup>4</sup> ὀρίων Μαζῶν καὶ Γάλλων<sup>5</sup>, Σπανίας καὶ Φραγγίας<sup>6</sup>, καὶ τοῦ Ἰλλυρικοῦ, μέχρι Γαδύρων<sup>7</sup> καὶ Ἡρακλέους<sup>8</sup> [καὶ]<sup>9</sup> στηλῶν<sup>10</sup> καὶ Ὠκεανοῦ, τέλος ἔχοντος<sup>11</sup> εἰς δυσμὰς ἡλίου ἐν ᾧ εἰσὶ νεκρὰ ὕδατα καὶ ἀκίνητα<sup>12</sup> ἕλωδη ἐν ᾧ νῆσος εἰς τὰ ἄκρη τῶν ὠκεανῶν<sup>13</sup> πελάγων πολύανδρος, χριστιανῶν ἄπειρον<sup>14</sup> πλήθος· ἄχρι Ῥαβέννης καὶ Λαγοβάρδας<sup>15</sup> καὶ Θεσσαλονίκης, Σκλάβων<sup>16</sup> καὶ Ἀβάρων καὶ Σκυθῶν ἕως Δανουβίου ποταμοῦ τὰς ἐκκλησιαστικὰς ὁροθεσίας· ὡσαύτως Σαρδανίαν<sup>17</sup> καὶ Μηγάρικαν<sup>18</sup>, Καρθαγέννην<sup>19</sup> καὶ μέρος τῶν Ἑσπεριῶν, καὶ μέρος τῆς<sup>20</sup> Σικελίας καὶ Καλαβρίας ἐν οἷς διαπνέουσιν<sup>21</sup> ἄνεμοι θρασκίας<sup>22</sup> ἀρκτῶος παρηίας<sup>23</sup> χῶρεος<sup>24</sup> καὶ ὁ<sup>25</sup> ζήφυρος· δυτικὸς λῦψ καὶ λυβόντος<sup>26</sup>.

Τρίτος θρόνος Κωνσταντινοπόλεως τοῦ πρωτοκλήτου<sup>27</sup> Ἀνδρέου καὶ τοῦ θεολόγου Ἰωάννου τοῦ<sup>28</sup> εὐαγγελιστοῦ, περιέχων πᾶσαν τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς ἐξουσίας τὴν βασιλείαν<sup>29</sup>, Εὐρώπην τε καὶ Ἀσίαν μέχρι τῆς δύσεως καὶ τὰς Κυκλάδας<sup>30</sup> τῶν νήσων ἄχρι Πόντου καὶ Χερσῶνος καὶ Ἀβασγίας Χαλδίας καὶ Χαζαρίας Καπαδοκίας<sup>31</sup> καὶ πάσης Ἀρμενίας<sup>32</sup> (sic), τὰ τοῦ βορᾶ<sup>33</sup> κλήματα (i. κλίματα) περιλαμβάνων.

Τέταρτος θρόνος Ἀλεξανδρείας, Μάρκον τοῦ ἀποστόλου καὶ<sup>34</sup> εὐαγγελιστοῦ υἱοῦ Πέτρου τοῦ ἀποστόλου, γενομένου νοταρίου· περιέχων ἕως τῆς ἐσωτέρας Ἰνδίας καὶ Αἰθιοπίας,

<sup>1</sup> In B. C. there is prefixed *γνωσις καὶ ἐπιγνωσις των πατριαρχιων.*

<sup>2</sup> Leic. *γενομενος.*

<sup>3</sup> B. C. *παλαιστινην.*

<sup>4</sup> B. C. *om. των.*

<sup>5</sup> B. C. *γαλλιων.*

<sup>6</sup> B. C. et Cod. 346 *Φραγκιας.*

<sup>7</sup> Cod. 346 *γαδειρων.*

<sup>8</sup> Cod. 346 *ήρακλειων.* B. C. *ήρακλεως.*

<sup>9</sup> Leic. + *και.*

<sup>10</sup> Leic. et B. C. *στυλων.*

<sup>11</sup> Cod. 346 *έχον το.*

<sup>12</sup> Cod. 346 *άκηνητα.*

<sup>13</sup> Cod. 346 *Ωκεανου.*

<sup>14</sup> B. C. *άπειρος.*

<sup>15</sup> Leic. et B. C. *λαγοβαρδων.*

<sup>16</sup> Leo. *άθλαβων,* Leic. *Κλαιβων.*

<sup>17</sup> B. C. et 346 *Σαρδανιας.*

<sup>18</sup> B. C. *Μαγαρικαν,* 346 *Μαγαρικας.*

<sup>19</sup> B. C. *Καρθαγεννης,* 346 *Καρταγεννης.*

<sup>20</sup> Leic. *om. και...της.*

<sup>21</sup> B. C. + *οι.*

<sup>22</sup> B. C. et 346 *θρισκιας.*

<sup>23</sup> Cod. 346 *παραιας,* B. C. *παρκιας.*

<sup>24</sup> 346 *χωρεως.*

<sup>25</sup> B. C. *om. και ο.*

<sup>26</sup> B. C. et 346 *λιβοντος.*

<sup>27</sup> B. C. *πρωτοκλητου.*

<sup>28</sup> B. C. *και.*

<sup>29</sup> B. C. *βασ. την εξ.*

<sup>30</sup> B. C. *κυλαδας.*

<sup>31</sup> B. C. *καππαδ.*

<sup>32</sup> B. C. *αρμενιας.*

<sup>33</sup> B. C. *βορρα.*

<sup>34</sup> B. C. *om. άπ. και.*



θρόνου ἀποστόλου Θωμά, ἄχρι Μαρμαρικῆς καὶ Ἀφρικῆς καὶ Τριπόλεως· καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν Αἰγυπτίαν<sup>35</sup> χώραν ἄχρι τῶν ὀρίων Παλαιστίνης τὰ τοῦ νότου κλήματα (l. κλίματα cum B. C.) περιέχων:—

Πέμπτος θρόνος Ἀντιοχείας τοῦ κορυφαίου Πέτρου, περιέχων ἄχρι τῶν ἀφ' ἡλίου ἀνατολῶν πορίαν ἐχόντων μηνῶν ἑπτὰ, ἕως τῆς Ἰβερίας καὶ Ἀρμενίας καὶ Ἀσβηγίας<sup>36</sup> καὶ μέχρι τῆς ἐσωτέρας ἐρήμου Περσῶν, Μήδων, Χαλδαίων ἕως τῆς Ἀράβων ἡγεμονίας, Πάρθων καὶ Ἐλαμῶν<sup>37</sup> καὶ Μεσοποταμίας καὶ ἀφ' ἡλίου<sup>38</sup> τοῦ ἀνατολικοῦ ἀνέμου ἔθθα ὁ ἥλιος ἀνατέλλει.

Cod. B. C. pergit. ἔχει δὲ μητροπολίτας ιβ'. Αἱ τάξεις τῶν κλιμάτων τῆς ἀφρικῆς καὶ πῶς καλοῦνται. πρῶτον κλίμα ἢ λιβύη ἢ καλουμένη λούβιε καὶ μαίρακι κτέ.

It has been pointed out by Scrivener and Burgon and Martin that the description of the five patriarchates is also to be found in Cod. 211 of the Gospels at Venice. I have not examined the menology in the Burdett-Coutts MS. in order to find Sicilian or Calabrian traces. The whole of these MSS. were imported, I believe, from Janina in Epirus; but this does not of itself militate against the Abbé's theory, since books may move east as well as west. But I shall be curious to notice whether he is not soon involved in the whole of the New Testament problems even with the isolated Calabrian codices.

The subscriptions to the Gospels in B. C. agree closely with the Ferrar-group: *e.g.*

ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ ματθαῖον εὐαγγελίου· ἐγράφη ἑβραϊστὶ ἐν παλαιστείνι (sic), μετὰ ἧ' ἔτη τῆς ἀναλήψεως τοῦ κυ. ἔχει δὲ ῥήματα ββκβ'. ἔχει δὲ στίχους βφξ'.

εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ μάρκον· ἐγράφη ῥωμαῖστὶ ἐν ῥώμῃ μετὰ ιβ' ἔτη τῆς ἀναλήψεως τοῦ κυρίου· ἔχει δὲ ῥήματα χίλια ἑξακόσια ἑβδομήκοντα πέντε. στί<sup>xx</sup> ραχις'.

εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ λουκᾶν ἐγράφη ἑλληνιστὶ εἰς ἀλεξανδρίαν τὴν μεγάλην μετὰ.....τῆς ἀναλήψεως τοῦ κυ· ἔχει δὲ ῥήματα γωγ'. στίχους βψν'.

εὐαγγέλιον ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ ἰω· ἐγράφη ἑλληνιστὶ εἰς ἔφεσον μετὰ ἔτη λ' τῆς ἀναλήψεως τοῦ κυ· ἔχει δὲ ῥήματα α.θλθ'. ἔχει δὲ στίχους βκδ' ἐπὶ δομετιανοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως.

It will be seen that these agree almost identically with the Ferrar-Abbott subscriptions: for the text we must wait until Dr Scrivener publishes his collation. We shall need at the same

<sup>35</sup> B. C. αἰγυπτίων.

<sup>36</sup> B. C. ἀβασγίας (om. και).

<sup>37</sup> B. C. ἐλαμιτών.

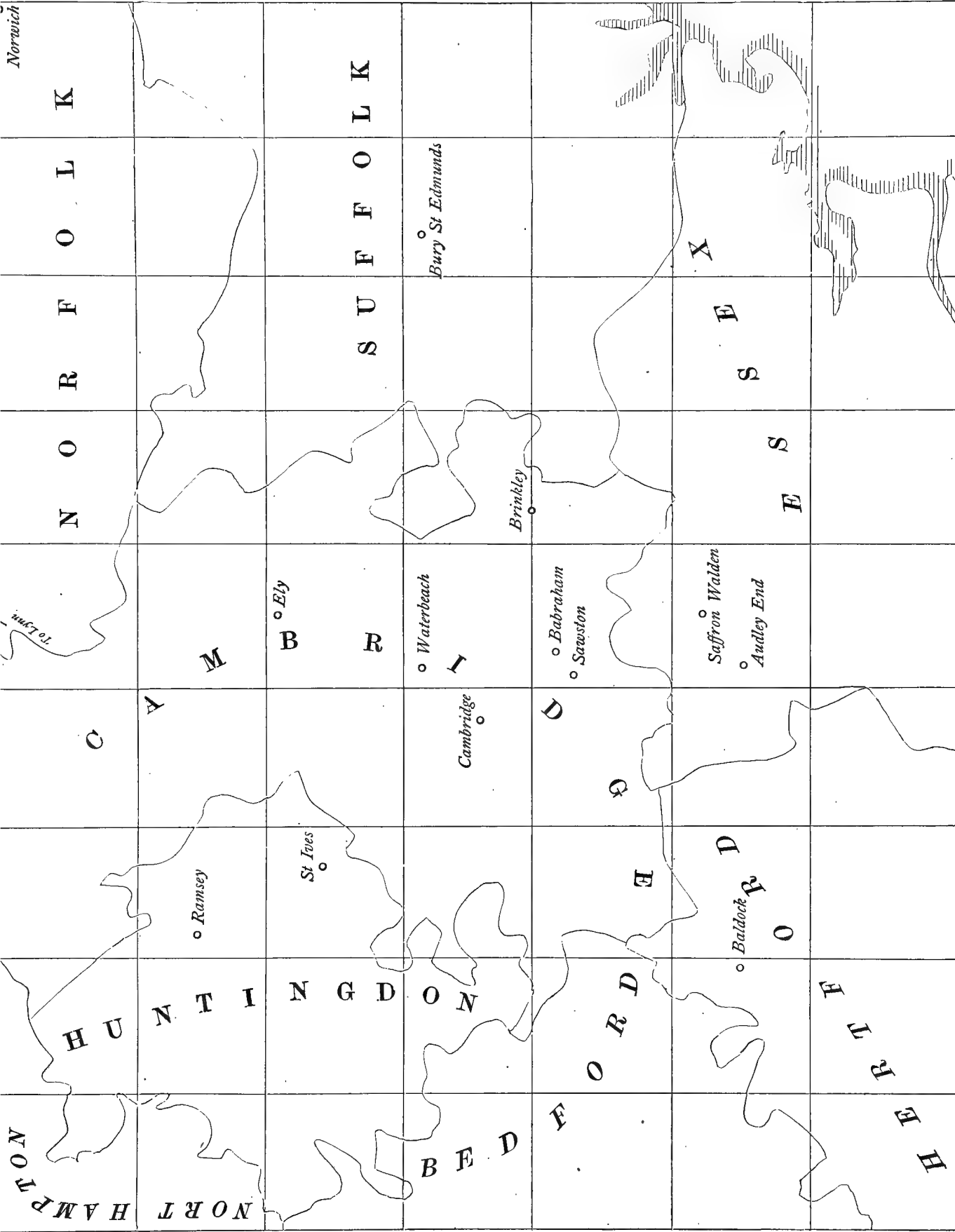
<sup>38</sup> sic. B. C. ἀφίλιω. l. Ἀπηλιώτου and cf. Arist. *Meteor.* II. 6.

time further particulars of Cod. 348 at Milan which M. Martin attaches to the Calabrian family, and of Cod. 211 at Venice which shews somewhat similar peculiarities.

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N O R F O L K

S U F F O L K

Bury St Edmunds

X

S E

E S

M

Ely

R

Waterbeach

I

Brinkley

Babraham  
Sawston

Saffron Walden

Audley End

C

A

Cambridge

D

G

E

D

Baldock

O

H U N T I N G D O N

Ramsey

St Ives

B E D

F O R D

H E R T F O R D S H I R E

N O R T H A M P T O N

N O R T H



λου μάνοις πρίαιτου· και κύλο (ποινα αυτούς) συμε  
ών, και ἡ παπρία μετ' αὐτοῦ· ἰδοῦσθε  
τας κητάς πρὸς τὴν ἀνάστασιν πολλῶν ἐν τῷ ἔθνε  
και ἡσθαίων ἀπὸ τῆς ἀνάστασιν· και τοῦ δεῦτερου  
ψαλμῶ διαλευσάσαι βρομαία ὅπως ἀνδραγαθ  
φθῶσιν ἐν πολλῶν καρδιῶν διαλογισμοί· και ἐν  
ἀντα προφῆτις θυγέτηρ φαγοῦ ἐκ ἐκφυλῆ ἀσθρ  
αὐτῆ προβῆ κηρα ἐν ἡμέραις πολλαῖς, ἦσασα μετα  
ἀνδρὸς ἐπὶ τῆς πᾶσ ἀπό τῆς παρθενίας αὐτῆς· και αὐ  
τῆ κηρα ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν θῆμοντα τισανῶν· ἐξ οὐκ ἐφί  
στατο ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔθρου· νηστῆαι και δειήσοι λαφύου  
σαν ἔνασαν και ἡμέραν· και αὐτῆ αὐτῆ τῆ ἀρα  
ἐπι γῆσα ἀνθρακωλογῆτο τῶν κη και ἐλάλη τῆ ἀ  
τοῦ πασι τοῖς προεδρομέροις μῆτρωσιν ἐν ἔθρουσα  
μει· και ἔταλασαν ἀπ᾽ αὐτὰ κατὰ τὸν νόμον κη  
ὑπῆρξαν ἡσθαίων και ἀλάμ και πρὸς πόλιν αὐτῶν  
να βαρεῖ, τὸ δὲ παιδίον κη ἔλασε και ἐκράτα αὐτῶ  
κῆ· πλερούμενον σοφίας και χαρίζου ἐν ἔθρου  
και πορεύοντο οἶον γῆς αὐτοῦ κατὰ τοὺς ἡσθαίων  
μει τῆ ἔθρου τοῦ πάχα· και ὅτε ἐφῆτο ἐπὶ  
δῶδεκα ἀποστῆτων αὐτῶν ἡσθαίων κατὰ τὸ  
ἔθος τῆς ἔθρου και τελευσῶσάντων τὰς ἡμέρας αὐ  
τῶν ὑποφρέφρα αὐτοῦ ὑπ᾽ ἡμέραν ὅ ἡσθαίων ὅ παρ  
ἡσθαίων και οὐκ ἐγνώσθη και ἡμέρ  
αὐτοῦ· νομίσα ἡσθαίων δὲ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῆσιν ἀδία ἡσθαίων  
ἡσθαίων ἡμέρας ὅδον· και ἀνεβῆτο ἡσθαίων ἐπὶ τοῖς  
συντενεῦσιν και τοῖς γρωσῆς και μὴ ἐφῆτο αὐ  
τοῦ ὑπῆρξαν ἡσθαίων και ἀναβῆτο ἡσθαίων αὐτῶ  
και ἐφῆτο μισθῆσθαι τῆσιν, ἡσθαίων αὐτὸν ἀντῶ  
ἡσθαίων και ὅ μισθον ἐπὶ τῆσιν ἀδία ἡσθαίων και  
αἰνοῦντα αὐτῶν· και ἐπὶ τῶν ἀντῶ αὐτοῦ· ἐξ ἡ  
σθαίων δὲ ἐπὶ τῆσιν ἀδία και τῶσιν ἀποκρίσων αὐ  
τοῦ πάντες οἱ ἀνοῦσθαι αὐτοῦ· και ἰδοῦσθαι αὐτῶ  
ἐξ ἐπὶ τῆσιν και πρὸς αὐτὸν ἡσθαίων αὐτοῦ ἡσθαίων  
τῶσιν πᾶσι τῶσιν ἀδία ἡσθαίων· ἰδοῦσθαι ἡσθαίων και  
ἐπὶ τῶσιν ἀδία ἡσθαίων· ἡσθαίων πρὸς αὐτοῦ· τῆ  
σθαίων τῶσιν ἀδία ἡσθαίων· ὅ πᾶσι τοῖς τοῦ πρῆμον  
σθαίων τῶσιν ἀδία ἡσθαίων· ὅ πᾶσι τοῖς τοῦ πρῆμον  
σθαίων τῶσιν ἀδία ἡσθαίων· ὅ πᾶσι τοῖς τοῦ πρῆμον



μή φρεῖς τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ θυσίου σὸν μου καὶ  
ὀπίρησον τὸ ἔλεός σου κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν  
ἀπειρημένων σου ἐπιβλεψὲν ἐπ' ἐμὲ· μετὰ πό-  
θεν τῆς τὸ πρόσωπό σου ἀπὸ τοῦ παιδείου σου·  
ὄπιθί βόμαι ταχὺ ἐπάκουσον μου· πρὸς χά-  
ρι τῆς χάριτός μου καὶ λύτρωσαι αὐτὴν· Ἐνεκα τῶν  
ἐχθρῶν μου ῥῦσαι με· σὸ γὰρ πινώσῃς τὸν  
ὄνηδιν μου καὶ τὴν ἀσθένειάν μου καὶ  
τὴν ἐντροπήν μου· Ἐνεκα τῶν σου πάντες  
ὄπιθί βόμαι με ὄνηδιν μου προσελούσῃ  
ἐν τῆς χάριτός μου καὶ τάλαιπωρίαν καὶ ὑπάμνη-  
σιν οὐλομένων καὶ οὐχ ὑπὲρξαι καὶ πᾶσα  
καλοῦνται καὶ οὐχ ὑνρον· καὶ ἔδωκεν ἄ-  
πο τῶν μου χολῶν καὶ ἄς τὴν διψῶ-  
σιν ἐπιπείσαν μαῶξος γυνήθη τὴν ἴτρα  
πᾶσα αὐτῶν ἐν ἰσχυροῦ αὐτῶν ἔπασιλα·  
καὶ ἄς ἄρτα πάλοσιν καὶ ἄς ἀνδραλον· σποτι-  
θήθησαν οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ αὐτῶν τοῦ μή βλέ-  
πην καὶ τὸν ῥῶτον αὐτῶν διαπαρτοῦ σὺ  
καθὲν ἔλεόν ἐπάουσι τὴν ὀργὴν σου















